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This book belongs to Sh. Abdullah Rafiqi Asstt. Ex. & cultural Officer Information Deptt. Srinagar.

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POEM



FOREWORD

The world will always need thoughtful men; a society like ours, with its vast treasures of ideals and traditions that must be understood, evaluated and passed on to succeeding generations as normative and dynamic forces needs such men all the more. Their value is greater if they are young. With the old, thoughtfulness is a natural tendency, a tranquillity that follows a life of activity. Its effectiveness can be diminished by the detachment which often accompanies it. Thoughtfulness in the young can become a pronounced formative influence. Dr. Karan Singh, as he often states in this collection of his Writings and Speeches, belongs to the post-independence era. His thoughtfulness, which is evident throughout this collection, is a symbol of hope for new India, which is passing through a spiritual crisis, with many values in the melting-pot, with a long past to understand and assimilate and a sound future to forge.

Readers of this book will note Dr. Karan Singh's attitude of reverence for men and ideas of the past. This is not only a distinctive characteristic of the thoughtful mind, but is essential, almost in dispensable in India today, when old values have to be given an expression that is valid in the contemporary world, and the values of the contemporary world have to be so assimilated that they become an organic element of our life.

Along with his other gifts, Dr. Karan Singh is endowed with clarity of thought and expression, and this adds immensely to the value of his writings. He has already published a number of books. I do hope he will continue to make a significant contribution to our intellectual life.

New Delhi
September 30, 1964.

Zakir Husain

PREFACE

It is somewhat embarrassing to deal with a request that one's speeches and writings be reproduced in book form; if declined one runs the risk of being dubbed unco-operative and rude, if accepted of being called vain and pretentious ! The Director of Information put up a huge bundle of speeches delivered by me since I first became Sadar-i-Riyasat. I was quite appalled at the bulk, and reacted unfavourably to the suggestion that they be published. Finally, however, I agreed on two conditions; firstly that the scope of the material should be restricted to this decade so that it is not too out-dated, and secondly that all purely official speeches such as addresses to the Legislature should be omitted. These are available in official records, and in any case they do not reflect any originality on my part. I also sternly cut out inadequate transcripts of extempore speeches, which have neither the spontaniety of the original performance nor the advantage of planning that goes into a written address, as well as a number of small miscellaneous speeches. We are thus left with a pleasantly short selection of six articles, eleven speeches and one poem, which may possibly be found to be of some general interest.

It is a matter for deep regret that the last two items included in this book—a radio broadcast and a poem—should have been occasioned by such a sad event as the passing away of one of the greatest leaders of all times. It is over fifteen years since, on the 20th June 1949, I first became Head of the State at the age of eighteen. During this whole eventful period the constant guidance, inspiration and affection that I was privileged to receive from Panditji has been the most formative influence upon my public life. I consider it a rare good fortune to have

come into such close contact with so great a man. His affection for Kashmir and its people was well known, and we on our part held him in special love and reverence.

I am grateful to the Vice-President Dr. Zakir Husain, a distinguished scholar and a man of great culture and refinement, for having taken the trouble of writing a few words by way of introduction.

Srinagar,
October 2, 1964.

Karan Singh



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Dr. Karan Singh
Sadar - i - Riyasat

ARTICLES

A VISIT TO NEPAL

I had first projected a visit to Nepal as early as 1949 when I was to have gone there to get married. But Fate willed otherwise. Due to an automobile accident a few months before that date I was unable to go, and it was not till ten years later that I was finally able to visit Nepal. Apart from a desire to visit my wife's home country, the cultural ties between India and Nepal are so deep and ancient that there is a natural attraction to go there. This is heightened by the desire to visit Nepal's famous Hindu and Buddhist shrines, particularly the holy temple of Lord Pashupatinath which is held in deep reverence by Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India.

We took off from Delhi on the morning of 25th March. Our first halt was Agra, but before arriving there we flew over the ancient towns of Vrindaban and Mathura, over the sacred Jamuna across which the infant Krishna was carried by Vasudeva at the dead of night amidst a raging storm. The new placid Jamuna was then, we are told, a terrifying torrent, the air vibrating with thunder and the sky rent by flashes of lightning. At that moment the very elements were in turmoil, and it was then that the Lord in His infinite compassion descended upon earth, symbolizing the birth of a new light and a new hope for suffering humanity.

After a brief halt at Agra we took off for Allahabad. Soon after we were airborne the plane flew over the Taj Mahal and I filmed a glorious aerial view of the magnificent mausoleum, truly one of the wonders of the world. Another brief halt at Allahabad, and then we flew on to Varanasi passing over the sacred Sangam at Prayag where the blue waters of the Jamuna mingle with the brown of the Ganga and the legendary Saras-

wati that is no longer visible to mortal eyes. The next lap of our flight to Patna was bumpy, and at Patna we discovered that the plane to Kathmandu had been delayed. I took the opportunity of paying a surprise visit to the scholarly Dr. Zakir Husain, then Governor of Bihar.

We finally took off from Patna at about 3 o'clock. For the first half-hour we flew over brown and dusty plains and then in the far distance snow-clad mountains gradually came into sight and we found ourselves over the low, thickly afforested foot-hills of the Bihar and Nepal Terai. As we continued our northward flight the mountains drew closer, and far away to the right the steward pointed out to us the mighty peak of Everest dominating the distant skyline. Just before entering the Kathmandu valley we flew over mountains at an elevation of 9,000 feet, and immediately upon crossing them the plane began to descend rapidly. The valley of Kathmandu was green and fresh after the hot plains of Bihar, and as we landed at the Gauchar airport the topography revealed a marked similarity to Kashmir. On stepping out of the plane I relished the fresh pleasant tang so familiar to those who live amidst mountains. As we drove into Kathmandu city I noticed that we were in a delightful valley, about 20 miles in each direction, surrounded by a range of hills with the greater range of snow-clad Himalayas towering behind. In about twenty minutes we reached Lakshmi Nivas, the huge four-storeyed mansion where my wife was born and brought up. We were in Kathmandu for a fortnight during which we visited a large number of Hindu and Buddhist shrines, paid a flying visit to the Pokhra valley east of Kathmandu and had occasion to meet a large number of important Nepalis including His Majesty King Mahendra.

Of all the temples I saw in Nepal the great shrine of Lord Pashupatinath stands out most clearly in my memory. We paid three visits to this temple during our stay in Kathmandu. Each time, according to the local custom, we went first to the temple of Guhyeshwari Devi which is nearby on the banks of

the Baghmati river. First we washed our feet in the stream and then passed under an ornamental gate and ascended a flight of steps which led into large square courtyard. In the middle of this stands the temple, a square wooden structure covered entirely with gold and silver-plated metal sheets richly embossed with human and animal figures. Around this main temple are scattered a number of small shrines, and among them is a tall gilt pillar surmounted by a statue of the King and Queen saluting the temple with folded hands. On entering the main shrine one has to descend a few steps into the inner sanctum, where the gold-plated image of the Devi rests on the floor. There is an aperture about five inches in diameter in which water bubbles gently. We did the traditional *pooja*, while two men armed with sticks stood by to ward off the numerous monkeys that clambered outside as well as inside the temple. After completing the *pooja* we dipped our hands into the small *kund* and took some of the holy water.

After the Devi temple one proceeds to the shrine of Pashupatinath which is only a few minutes drive from there. The car drives up to the entrance gate which is an impressive structure flanked by beautifully painted images of Ganesha and a Devata and surmounted by an image of Shiva standing with his trident amidst the snows of the Himalayas. From the doorway the view of the main temple is blocked by an enormous gold-plated metal Nandi Bull. Entering the compound one finds oneself in a large courtyard dominated by the huge temple of Pashupatinath which stands in its centre. This is indeed a marvellous structure, square with a double tiered wooden roof surmounted by gold-plated spires. The upper roof is about half the size of the lower, and the corners of both curve upwards giving the structure rather a Japanese look. The whole exterior of the temple is beautifully carved with wooden figures which had been colourfully repainted at the time of King Mahendra's coronation in 1956. After walking around the usual auxiliary temples in the courtyard we entered

the main shrine from the southern gate and ascended a few steps. Suddenly I was face to face with the symbol of the great Lord Himself, the famous Panchmukhi (five-faced) *lingam* of Pashupatinath. The *lingam* is made of black stone, about four feet high, with a face carved on each of its sides. Below each face is a pair of hands raised in benediction, and a constant shower of water descends upon the *lingam* from a copper vessel suspended about a foot above it. The four faces symbolize the infinite Reality in its manifest form, surveying the whole created cosmos in every direction. On top of the *lingam* is a 'Shree Chakra', symbolizing the fifth face, the unmanifested Bramhan itself. Thus the darshan portrays the Lord both in His manifest and unmanifest forms, because in the Hindu view He pervades the whole cosmos but is not limited by it. He is the universe and also that which is beyond, Purusha and Prakriti, Being and Becoming.

It is an interesting fact that the Pujaris of the Pashupatinath temple are not Nepali but come from South India. With their dull ochre robes and doubled rows of Rudraksha beads twisted round their shaven heads they look mysterious within the dark inner sanctum. I noticed that they moved around constantly within the small confine of the shrine, but so gently that they did not appear to obscure our view of the *lingam*. Also their expression was one of piety, very different from the avaricious and grasping expression which one so often sees in many Pujaris.

Many people have asked me about the legend that the *lingam* at Pashupatinath is made of 'Paras', the Philosopher's Stone which is supposed to turn baser metals into gold by its contact. Needless to say I did not try out the experiment, but it is clear that the whole allusion is symbolic and those who give it a literal meaning misunderstand the real significance of the legend. Throughout the gnostic literature of the world the symbolism of alchemy has constantly been used to portray the transmutation of

our mundane earth-bound consciousness into the Divine Consciousness. This is in fact the true alchemy, and in this context it is obvious that whoever truly understands the significance of the Shiva Lingam at Pashupatinath will certainly succeed in transforming his material consciousness into the true gold of spiritual reality.

After paying our humble offerings we departed from the temple, followed by a horde of vociferous beggars of both sexes and all ages. The beggar problem is as severe in Nepali temples as it is in many of our Indian places of pilgrimage, particularly in the North. This is a great nuisance to worshippers and shatters the atmosphere of devotion and piety with which one approaches the shrines.

Among the other important temples that we visited during our stay in Nepal were Budha Nilakantha and Dakshin Kali. The temple of Lord Vishnu lying upon the great serpent is a few miles north of Kathmandu at the foot of the hills. The beautifully proportioned statue is in a large tank of water, and is said to have been discovered many years ago by a farmer whose ploughshare hit against a stone object. Upon uncovering the earth he discovered that he had stumbled upon a huge buried statue. He reported the matter to the authorities who undertook the excavation of the image and built the temple. The reclining statue of Lord Vishnu about twenty feet long is mirrored in the surrounding water. If one lies on the edge of the tank one can see the image perfectly reflected, and it is said that on looking closely the colours of the reflection appear to change.

The famous temple of Dakshin Kali is in the opposite direction, to the south of Kathmandu. The road leading there was very bumpy and dusty, and although it was only about 15 miles from Kathmandu the drive took us over an hour. It so happened that we went to the temple

on Ashtami Day (the eighth day of the lunar month), which is particularly sacred to the Goddess. The temple of Dakshin Kali is a great centre of animal sacrifice, and there were literally hundreds of animals being taken there to be slaughtered. Indeed the process of slaughter was almost unending, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we were able to pay our homage at the shrine for a few minutes without having animals sacrificed before our very eyes. Even then we had to walk over streams of fresh blood in order to get to the image and have darshan of the awe-inspiring but at the same time benevolent Devi, terrible to evil-doers but gracious to Her devotees. Animal sacrifice happens to be entirely alien to my temperament and form of worship, but on the drive back from Dakshin Kali to Kathmandu I reflected upon the matter with some care. After all, millions of birds and animals are slaughtered everyday throughout the world in order to feed our appetite for tasty flesh or our penchant for sport. In the temple at least there is a dedication, not merely the satiation of an animal greed.

Hinduism and Buddhism have co-existed peacefully in Nepal for many centuries. A large proportion of the population of that country is Buddhist but there is little difference in the way of life of the two religious communities. While in Kathmandu we took the opportunity of visiting the two greatest Buddhist shrines there. The first is Bodhnath, known also as Bodha Chaitya, which is a gigantic *stupa* a couple of miles beyond the Pashupatinath temple. The *stupa* is in the form of a huge mound with a square temple arising from it, topped by a mighty prayer wheel and a golden spire. On each side of the square temple are painted huge, ever-watchful eyes which survey all the four directions with an unblinking gaze. From the top of the gilded spire colourful buntings are hung on ropes stretched down to the ground in all directions, giving the

temple from the distance the look of a vast circus arena. We did not go inside the *stupa*, but climbed up to the base of the square structure from where I filmed the surrounding view as well as the piercing eyes that loomed above me. The Chinai Lama, who is spiritual head of the temple, had been informed of our visit and waited to greet us as we clambered down. He took us first to a nearby Gumpa dedicated to the great Buddhist teacher Padmasambhava, and then up to his rooms which were delightfully furnished with colourful Tibetan rugs, embroidered cushions and beautifully painted Tibetan banners so reminiscent of gumpas in Ladakh.

The other great Buddhist shrine in the Kathmandu valley is the temple of Swayambhunath, which is said to be one of the oldest of Buddhist temples existing today. This temple has been built upon a hill top a few miles out of Kathmandu, and it dominates the surrounding countryside like the Shankaracharya temple in Kashmir. There is a flight of over 500 steps leading up to the temple, but happily a motorable road has now been constructed and we were able to drive almost up to the top. From there we walked about a hundred yards up to where the *stupa* of Swayambhunath sits in magnificent splendour. Its structure is like that of the Bodhnath *stupa* and the ever-seeing eyes look piercingly in all the four directions over noses painted like gigantic question marks. Very close to the main *stupa* a group of Ladakhi Lamas have recently constructed a gumpa housing a huge gilt statue of a seated Buddha at least 12 feet high. The Ladakhis were overjoyed to see us, and their Head Lama, an erudite man with a wispy beard which made him look like a younger version of Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh, said that the huge statue was full of sacred books and manuscripts. The courtyard of Swayambhunath affords a panoramic view of the Kathmandu valley which stretches out below it ringed by snow-capped mountains.

In between our temple visiting we were to attend a couple of colourful local ceremonies. The first, known as the 'Ghude Jatra', took place the day after we arrived. The festivities were arranged by the Nepali Army in the parade ground at Kathmandu called Tundikhel. In the middle of the ground is a large tree with a platform built around it, and here all the important visitors were seated including His Majesty and members of the diplomatic corps. There were a number of events including pony and horse races, cycle races, sack races, pillow fights, tent pegging and drill. It was all very merry and informal, and the races were interesting except that one did not know from where they started and where they were supposed to end. The competitors just flashed past us with everybody cheering wildly.

The second ceremony we witnessed was more formal, the opening of a session of the Nepali Parliament by His Majesty King Mahendra. This took place at the Durbar Hall near Singha Durbar, the gigantic structure which formerly was the residence of the Rana Prime Ministers and now is used as the Government Secretariat. The Durbar Hall, which is in a separate building, has an attractive interior with numerous pillars and beautifully decorated ceilings and walls. At one end is the throne, a silver chair upholstered in velvet, and behind this a specimen of the famous Newari carved wooden windows. Members of both Houses of the Nepali Parliament had assembled there, 109 members of the Pratinidhi Sabha and 36 of the Maha Sabha. The Prime Minister sat at the head of the treasury benches, while across the chamber was the leader of the main opposition party. His Majesty arrived dressed in Army uniform, preceded by a herald announcing his arrival and accompanied by his As. D. C. and Legislative dignitaries. As soon as he was seated on the throne Shri Koirala stepped up and handed him the speech, which he read seated in a low, melodious voice. The Nepali language has a pleasant resonance, and for one who understands Hindi is fairly easy to follow.

The valley of Kathmandu contains several other important towns besides the capital. We visited two such towns, Lalitpur (also known as Patan) and Bhaktpur (also known as Bhatgaon), both of which were important centres of Newari power and culture before the advent of the Gorkhas led by King Prithvi Narayan Shah towards the end of the eighteenth century. In these towns there are beautiful examples of ancient Newari art and architecture, including the carved wooden windows which are so famous. I was particularly struck by the beautiful Taleju temple in Bhaktpur which contains some superb wood and stone carving. The temple has a central courtyard called the 'Mul Chowk' from which two smaller courtyards take off. One is the 'Bhairav Chowk' which contains wooden sculptures of the god Bhairav in various poses around a sunken shrine dedicated to the 'Varah Avatara' (Boar Incarnation). The second is the 'Kumari Chowk', and this contains miniature sculpture which, I am sure, can rival the best to be found anywhere in India. There are 108 exquisitely carved stone panels, each about fourteen inches by ten inches, portraying the Devi in her numerous manifestations. We also admired the five-storeyed temple at Bhaktpur, and in Patan we saw the famous Krishna Mandir which is a beautifully proportioned stone structure.

Many of the temples we visited in Nepal were dedicated to the Tantric form of worship, such as the Nav Durga temple at Bhaktpur. This is housed in what looks like a private dwelling, and the images are on the first floor. We climbed up a precarious flight of steps and walked along a verandah into a long fairly dark room with a stone image of Durga in the centre and about a dozen grotesque masks hanging in a row behind. After the pooja the Pujari showed us a beautifully carved girdle made up of hundreds of pieces of what we thought was ivory. After having admired it, however, we were told that the girdle was made of human bones.

Unfortunately road communications in Nepal, though they have improved considerably over the last few years, are still rather inadequate and one is therefore largely confined within the valley of Kathmandu. We were able, however, to pay a flying visit to the near by valley of Pokhra which lies about a hundred miles north-west of Kathmandu. The Royal Nepal Airlines service flew us there in about forty minutes, providing enroute a glorious and unforgettable view of the great Himalayan range with some of the highest peaks in the world. From the air we were able to see the whole sweep of mountains starting in the east with Gauri Shanker, then Jugal Himal, Langtang, Ganesh Himal Himalchuli, Manaslu, the seven peaks of Annapurana, Machapuchare and finally Dhaulagiri in the west. Truly are these peaks eternal sentinels of our sub-continent. As I looked upon them, the famous opening of lines of Kalidasa's 'Kumarasambhava' echoed in my ears :

"Astyuttarasyam dishi devatatma
Himalayo nama nagadhirajah
purvaparau toyanidhi vagahya
sithitah prithivya iva mandandah"

"In the northern direction is the King of mountains, the mighty Himalayas embodying the spirit of the gods. The range spans the wide land from the east to the western sea like a measuring rod to guage the world's pride." All Indians and Nepalis have the deepest reverence for this great mountain range which has played such an outstanding part in the formation of our culture through the centuries.

The Pokhra valley is set at an elevation of about 3,500 feet above sea level, and contains a large number of beautiful lakes. Upon emerging from the aircraft one gets a beautiful view of the towering peaks nearby, particularly Machapuchare which from Pokhra is a perfect pyramid standing out in aloof grandeur. The Nepal Army had kindly arranged some

jeeps for our party in which we drove to the banks of the biggest lake, known as the Rupatal. This was recently damaged as a result of heavy rains and floods, but a dam is being constructed under the Indian Aid Programme and when it is completed the lake will fill up several feet and thus greatly increase in beauty. The water of the lake is extraordinarily clear, rather like the Mediterranean sea off the French riviera. Pokhra has great potentialities for development as a tourist resort, as it provides ideal facilities for swimming, fishing, boating, hiking, trekking and mountaineering. His Majesty King Mahendra had kindly placed his personal bungalow on the lake at our disposal for the day and we had lunch there sitting on a beautiful spot overlooking the lake. The whole trip was enlivened by the accidental presence with us on the plane and at lunch of the Indian Cultural Attache in Nepal Shri Shivmangal Singh 'Suman', the eminent Hindi poet. Responding to the beauty and mood of the surroundings he was in a poetical mood and recited to us some beautiful poems of Rabindranath Tagore as well as his own.

After lunch we drove several miles into the town of Pokhra and on to a hillock topped by a temple dedicated to Vindhyachal Devi. Pokhra is also an important centre of Sanskrit learning, and as we descended from the temple I noticed a large number of small boys eagerly reading their books. It was obvious that they were preparing for an examination, and I asked one very small boy 'Kim Pathasi' (what are you reading ?). Pat came the reply in Sanskrit "Kavyam Pathami" (I am reading poetry). We then drove back past the airport to visit an ex-serviceman's hospital run by our Soldiers' Board, which is performing very useful service in that area. Upon returning to the airport we passed an interesting natural phenomenon. The Seti river there runs hundreds of feet underground, and this subterranean stream has deep gorges, some of them only a couple of feet wide at surface level. We threw

stones into these gorges, and it was several seconds before we heard them splash into the water far below. We flew back to Kathmandu in the afternoon, reluctant to leave lovely Pokhra.

Shortly before leaving Kathmandu I had the opportunity to meet some leading Nepali litterateurs. Shri Balkrishna Sham is a talented dramatist, actor and poet, and is known as the father of modern Nepali drama. He presented me with his epic work "Cheeso Chulla" and also recited two of his English poems. Then he stood and recited with gestures a poem portraying the nine classical 'Rasas' or sentiments of Bharata's Natya Shastra. It was a remarkable performance as one after the other his words and gestures evoked the varied emotions. Another interesting poet was Shri Kedarnath Vyathita who writes in Nepali, Newari and Hindi. His poems contain great power and revolutionary fervour. Pt. Chudanath Bhattarai of the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya in Kathmandu is an erudite and eloquent Sanskrit scholar. He presented me with his "Nibandha Chudamani", essays in Nepali on various Upanishadic utterances, and also his Sanskrit drama entitled "Parinama" which he claimed to be a modern classic. He lamented the decline of Sanskrit studies in India and hoped for the day when this great language would be accepted by India as its national language. Shri Jagdish Shumsher is a talented and promising young poet and also a modern painter of no mean ability. Finally, there was Shri Dharamraj Thapa who sang some beautiful Nepali folk songs. I was struck by the remarkable similarity between his tunes and those of our Dogra-Pahari folk music, and when I sang some Dogri songs he was also impressed by this. I should also mention my visit to the scholarly Field Marshal Kaiser Shamshere, who has what must be one of the finest private libraries in the world.

Throughout my stay in Nepal I was struck by three outstanding facts. The first is the extremely close cultural

affinity between Nepal and India, based upon long standing historical and religious traditions and reflected in the affinity of such matters as dress, food, language, folk songs and religious customs. The second is the immense fund of goodwill and friendship that exists for India in Nepal. Thirdly, the fact that under King Mahendra Nepal has begun moving forward towards political stability and economic prosperity. It has a great deal of leeway to make up in the sphere of development, and in the context of modern world conditions and the posture of events in Asia the independent Kingdom of Nepal has come to occupy a position of great importance. My visit there convinced me beyond doubt that the destiny and welfare of our two nations are inextricably intertwined, and that the prosperity and security of one cannot be injured without gravely jeopardizing the welfare of the other.

AN INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO THE NUCLEAR CHALLENGE

The recent aeroplane incident has dramatically illustrated the fact—if indeed reiteration of such an obvious truth was required—that despite all talk of peaceful co-existence and lessening of tensions the world still totters excruciatingly near the brink of a dreadful precipice. It was bad enough for us to feel that our future existence on this planet and that of those near and dear to us was at the mercy of a very few men in whose hands happened to be the leadership of the nuclear powers. But what is even more chilling is the realization that the foolhardiness or lack of judgement of a single person in a comparatively obscure position can set in motion a chain of events that may lead inexorably to world-wide disaster.

We tend to take for granted the good things which fate, circumstances or our own Karma, however we may prefer to term it, has offered us and which we enjoy. Apart from purely material possessions these include emotional relationships with those we love and cherish, aesthetic enjoyment and intellectual activities. But with the thread of nuclear disaster hanging like a Damocles' sword over our heads, and hanging by the very slenderest of threads, all that mankind holds dear is threatened with extinction. I am not here concerned with the remedies for this situation which have been and are being put forward by thinking people throughout the world—disarmament, world federation and the like. I propose to deal only with the limited, subjective, individual reaction to a situation fraught with the gravest danger for us all.

As I see it, the individual response can fall broadly into three categories. The first is an attitude of what might

be called desperate non-chalance. The issues are so vast and involved that many people just refuse to worry about them on the plea that as the individual cannot in any case do anything about it, it is best to ignore the whole matter and continue to live as if the problem never existed. This may seem on the face of it a reasonable and sensible attitude, but it will not stand up to closer analysis. As the issues impinge inexorably upon the individual he cannot run away from them on the plea of his insignificance. Furthermore, for anyone who has thought at all deeply about the problem this approach does not and cannot give any abiding satisfaction.

The problem, then, has to be faced up to, and this brings us to the remaining two approaches. To my mind the crux of the matter is our view of the nature of the universe, of the human personality and of their mutual relationship. If we subscribe to a materialistic and mechanistic view of the universe—which incidentally, need not by any means be crude or vicious as the writings of Lord Russel so eloquently indicate—then the danger before us becomes so fantastic that, frankly, it seems to me to be almost impossible to deal with it. If we look upon the whole creaticn, including the comparatively insignificant race of *homo sapiens*, as merely a fortuitous conglomeration of atoms, then indeed it appears that the fortune which brought about our existence is on the wane and we should soon expect to be disintegrated into our pre-conglomerate state ! Perhaps a 'scientific' view of human history will teach us that this will not in fact be such a disaster after all, as the world existed long before the race came into being and will continue to do so long after it has vanished. But the fact remains that for the individual this is a view devoid of hope and inspiration.

"So it is", I can hear Lord Russel saying, "but we should not, therefore, allow ourselves to be led into false hopes and beliefs for which no 'scientific' evidence exists."

Perhaps he is right, but the third response is one which cannot be ruled out. This is based upon what one might call a spiritual, idealistic or teleological approach to the problem of human existence or, to use a more Indian term, a Vedantic approach. According to this, the whole creation has a divine purpose and is the manifestation of a divine power, an ultimate Reality that is the very basis of its existence. The Divine spirit is thus immanent in all creation, and particularly so in the human race which has travelled a fair distance on the evolutionary path leading to spiritual realization. Thus we have within us a spark of the Divine, and this spark is indestructible alike by the sword and the most powerful of nuclear weapons. From these premises, two corollaries flow. Firstly, if it is part of the Divine plan that the particular speck of cosmic dust we call the world shall be destroyed by nuclear explosions, so it shall be destroyed and nothing any of us can do will prevent it. This, may I immediately and emphatically add, does not at all mean that we should cease to strive for world peace and international amity. So to strive to the utmost of our power and understanding is indeed our foremost duty as members of the race, but it must be a calm, selfless striving as indicated in the Bhagavad-Gita, without laying too much stress upon the fruits of our actions. Secondly, we must be firm in the conviction that even if, despite our best efforts, such an event as a nuclear holocaust were to occur, our real self will not be destroyed although our material bodies might be blasted to smithereens and blown to the four corners of the earth. These convictions should give us the strength, equanimity and courage to face the crucial problems that loom menacingly before us. But a real and abiding solution of the problem is only possible if we are able to make contact with and actively experience the true Reality which resides alike within us and within the entire creation. "There is no such thing," the materialists will shout. Perhaps not, but I prefer this hypothesis, the correctness of which has been reaffirmed by some of the great-

est minds in every part of the world ever since the dawn of history, to the hopeless and enervating materialistic premise. It is an approach of faith, of hope, of confidence in the divine potentialities of the individual human being.

HUMANITY, THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE NUCLEAR MENACE

Is the future of humanity, of all that we hold near and dear in this world, to be at the mercy of those who happen to be in positions of supreme authority in the nuclear powers, which represent only a fraction of the nations of the world ? Outrageous as it is, this in fact would seem to be the position. Countless millions of people inhabiting this earth, whose nations have never possessed nor even desired to possess nuclear weapons, are willy-nilly exposed to the awful risks and horrors of nuclear fission either through a wholesale holocaust which would very likely destroy in a few moments most of the great population centres of the world, or through the slower but more excruciating process of disease and decay. It is tragic that millions who wish only to be left in peace so that they can raise the standards of life for themselves and their children are forcibly held at ransom, as it were, by the nuclear powers. And the supreme irony is that the vast populations of the nuclear powers are themselves as much opposed to being annihilated, in one fell swoop or through prolonged agony, as are any other peoples.

Why, then, do we find ourselves in the fantastic position where the atmosphere contiunes to be poisoned and polluted by nuclear tests, and the very future of the human race is jeopardized in the name of national security ? A strange security this, which has as its inevitable concomitant the mass destruction of human, and perhaps most other, life on this planet. What is the evil destiny that appears inexorably to be pushing mankind closer and closer to the brink of annihilation ? It is not the intention here to enter into a detailed analysis of the disarmament attempts. No

doubt the leaders of the nuclear powers have reasons for polluting the earth's atmosphere which satisfy at least their own consciences. But it must be admitted that these reasons are somewhat difficult to comprehend by us in India and I am sure by millions all over the globe. What reason could be enough to justify this nuclear death-race which, if one looks at it without any wishful thinking, seems almost certain to result sooner or later in utter disaster. Is it a sub-conscious racial death-wish which thus leads us on to our doom, or are there malignant forces at work whose very nature and existence we are unable to imagine, far less comprehend? Be this as it may, it is obvious that the whole of humanity is gravely threatened by the continued nuclear testing and arms production, and in concrete terms this threat embraces all the lesser entities that humanity cradles; one's nation, one's family and oneself. Not only are the living jeopardized, but generations yet unborn—if they ever see the light of day—are liable to be warped and twisted as the result of our folly.

The question arises as to what one should do about the problem. Just to sit back and fatalistically let things take their course would appear to be the line of least resistance, but this can hardly satisfy. And yet, with the world today being organized in such a complex fashion, what after all can a single individual do in such matters where the very crux of international power-politics is involved. How can one break the vicious circle of suspicion, distrust, fear and nuclear armament in which the world has been caught since the end of the last World War? The answer obviously is that the individual cannot do very much, but this should not prevent him from doing what little he can. In the final analysis nations are composed of individuals, all of whom no doubt to a greater or lesser degree share the fears and anxiety expressed in this article. Thus, if individuals throughout the world were to bring moral pressure to bear on their governments to oppose this nuclear madness, perhaps something may be

achieved. And in this context it is obvious that the inhabitants of the nuclear powers themselves have the most important role to play. It is they who are most seriously and directly menaced by the prospect of nuclear annihilation, and it is their governments alone that can really do something substantial to lessen the danger. Countries like India are already firmly committed to a policy of non-testing and nuclear disarmament, but so far ours have been voices crying in the wilderness. I may add also that the youth of the world must be specially active in this context as we have a particularly strong vested interest in survival.

While this is, as it were, the external or social aspect of the problem, the nuclear menace also brings into sharper focus the eternal inner problem of Man which has been with him ever since he emerged from the dim obscurity of pre-history. This, simply stated, is the realization of his own true inner nature or—in fact they are the two sides of the same coin—of the Supreme Reality that pervades this whole existence. Self-realization or God-realization has been the goal of all the great religious and mystical systems of human history, but in an age when events move so fast and mass disaster seems contantly just around the corner the spiritual quest gains added significance and urgency for the thinking individual.

There is a school of thought, of course, which dismisses this aspect of the problem as of no importance simply because it feels that it does not exist. According to this view there is in fact no underlying spiritual reality ; human beings are merely the result of a chance biological evolution ; the world and indeed the cosmos is equally accidental and devoid of any teleological significance ; there is no such thing as a soul or any other entity that survives biological death. If these premises are accepted, then of course the whole problem becomes somewhat more simple. If we are merely fortuitous conglomerations of atoms, it is only a matter of time before we will vanish leaving not a trace behind, and a nuclear

cataclysm will only hasten this inevitable end.

As against this view, however, there is another great school of thought which holds that all material manifestation is an effect of the supreme spiritual cause, and that the human personality contains at its core an immortal and divine spark. As the Gita puts it, "Weapons cannot cleave, nor fire burn, nor can any power compass the destruction of that Imperishable One." If that is the case, then the whole outlook changes. We can face the terrible threat with a calmer mind, with greater equanimity and thus with greater chances of success. Above all, we can shed the crippling burden of fear that warps the human personality and subtracts from life the very essence and joy of living. With the certitude that there is a divine power pervading all existence, manifesting itself alike in the lightning flash, in the heart of a nuclear explosion, and in the breast of a new-born babe, we can perhaps bring a fresh mind to bear upon the whole horrific menace that confronts us. This planet of ours, for all the misery and oppression that has sullied its history since our race began, for all the cruelty and bigotry it has witnessed through the ages, has still shown itself to be a place capable of cradling greatness. It has witnessed the sublimest flights of the human spirit in multifarious spheres of achievement, reaching its culmination from time to time in the merging of the human soul with the vast ocean of Radiant Light, the "flight of the alone to the Alone". We owe a deep debt to this world, the mother which has cradled mankind since it emerged from the dizzying vortex of eternity. Can we not prevent its destruction and desecration ? No doubt the infinite cosmos has millions of other worlds upon which the undying quest of the human soul for the infinite can be pursued, but one might be execused for remarking "Better the planet we know than the planet we don't".

TRUTH WILL TRIUMPH

The national emblem adopted by the Government of India on January 26, 1950 has below it the inscription "Satyameva Jayate", which means "Truth alone triumphs". This article will attempt to look into the meaning and significance of this motto somewhat more deeply, and I hope to be excused if, due to the very nature of the problem, it raises more questions than it answers.

The words are taken from the Mundaka Upanishad:

"Satyameva jayate nanritam
satyena pantha vitato devayanah,
Yenakramantyrishayo hyaptakama
yatra tat satyasya paramam nidhanam".

This has been translated by Sri Aurobindo as follows:

"It is Truth that conquers and not falsehood;
by Truth was stretched out the path of the
journey of the gods, by which the sages
winning their desire ascend there where
Truth has its supreme abode."

This beautiful passage clearly enshrines a basic spiritual principle, particularly the first line which contains the essence of the idea. At the same time, however, it raises certain fundamental philosophical questions. Firstly, what is meant by Truth? Truth is a concept that has engaged the greatest thinkers of the world from the seers of the Upanishadas and Plato to Mahatma Gandhi. It is obvious that in this context the word has a much deeper and more profound meaning than its commonly accepted sense. It means in fact nothing less than the ultimate Spiritual Reality itself. The words can thus be interpreted to

mean that the texture of reality being founded upon a spiritual principle, this must ultimately emerge triumphant regardless of the apparent strength of ignorance and evil which seeks to dim its radiance.

The next problem that arises is why Truth should have to do battle at all ? If it is so fundamental and all-encompassing then why is it not self-evident without having to gain a victory over opposing forces ? Indeed why in fact are there any opposing forces ? This leads us to one of the most complex philosophical problems faced by the human mind, the problem of the genesis and continued existence of evil and ignorance, which in turn is inseparably related to the problem of the rationale for creation itself. It would appear that this is a question which is essentially unanswerable as long as our consciousness is confined within the space-time continuum. From our present standpoint we have to take creation for granted, and as the Buddha said there is little to be gained by endless speculations regarding its origins. Also, we have to accept the existence of a force, call it evil, or ignorance, or Maya, that envelopes the Truth. This force, however, is by no means invincible, and its defeat within our own being is in fact the raison d'etre of our existence because such defeat is synonymous with the dawning of spiritual realization.

The third point is the question of when Truth will conquer, and what happens during the time intervening before the victory ? Surely truth delayed is truth denied, and it would be of precious little use to humanity if Truth conquers after it has succeeded in annihilating itself. The American poet Robert Frost has expressed this idea in a very telling manner when he writes :

> "*For want of me the world's course will not fail ;*
> *when all its work is done, the lie shall rot :*

the truth is great, and shall prevail,
when none cares whether it prevail or not."

In order to meet this serious objection, we have got to approach the problem from two different angles. From one point of view the fact that the whole creation and existence itself is based upon a spiritual principle is a guarantee that this principle, Truth, can never be conquered. It must ultimately shine forth in all its splendour, sweeping aside the aberrations which at present seem to surround it. From another point of view we must begin with our own selves and hold fast to the conviction that in our own lives Truth, both in the absolute and the common-day sense, will enable us to make our existence really worthwhile.

When we talk of the common-day meaning of truth, however, we come up against another serious difficulty. Even in the most trivial matters it is often impossible for men of goodwill to agree as to what in fact is true and what false. And in the problems of our daily life, with emotional and political overtones, the concept of truth itself tends to become extremely tenuous and vague. It seems, therefore, that the full significance of our national motto can only be grasped if we are prepared to subscribe to the concept of an underlying spiritual significance to our whole existence. Despite our personal weakness and insufficiency we have got to have this faith firmly implanted in our hearts, otherwise Satyameva Jayate will remain merely an expression of wishful thinking, and not gain any concrete significance.



UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THE CHINESE CHALLENGE

Since the national emergency was declared last October, I have had occasion to visit a number of important universities and to meet many university students. These visits have brought home to me with great emphasis the extremely important role that university students have to play in the present crisis caused by Chinese aggression. Their buoyant enthusiasm and patriotic fervour is indeed an encouraging sign, because they constitute an intellectual elite upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility for being leaders of thought and action whenever the country is in peril. This is not to say, of course, that they should in any way give up or neglect their studies. But it is essential that university students actively prepare themselves to fulfil the crucial role that history has assigned to them.

Before this role can be spelt out, however, it is necessary to appreciate and understand the true nature of the challenge that the present rulers of China have thrown at us. This is essentially a multi-dimensional challenge and therefore necessitates a multi-sided response. There are four broad categories in which the Chinese challenge can conveniently be studied :—

1. **The Military Challenge** : This is the most obvious and dramatic aspect of the Chinese threat. The invasion at the end of last year showed not only that China was militarily much stronger than us in absolute terms, but that it was able to mass impressive armed strength in Tibet in order to inflict a military defeat upon us. This fact highlights the immense energy, expenditure and planning that must have been used to convert peaceful Tibet into

a vast military base. It is not my intention here to go into details of the military situation, but merely to stress that as the military threat has assumed great importance university students must necessarily take a leading part in combating it. This they can do in several ways. There is at present a great dearth of officers in the Armed Forces, and it is to be hoped that an increasing number of university students will take up a military career as their profession. Apart from the regular army there are many other organizations such as the Territorial Army, the National Volunteer Rifles, the National Cadet Corps, the Home Guards and the Civil Defence Corps in which able-bodied university students can participate in large numbers. This will not only increase their self-confidence and physical fitness, but also give them the satisfaction of feeling that they are in a better position to help safeguard the honour and integrity of the motherland.

2. **The Diplomatic Challenge** : Even as the Chinese armies were sweeping across our Northern borders, Chinese diplomats were busy in the capitals of the world trying to convince other countries that it was we who had attacked them. Although this deception could not hold water for long, it does highlight the immense importance of diplomatic activity in the present-day world where improved communications have made contact between nations much closer and quicker than ever before. University students can contribute to our diplomatic counter-offensive in two ways. Firstly, they must look upon foreign students studying in their universities as ambassadors of friendship and goodwill and try to ensure that they get a correct appreciation of the Indian point of view. There are at present thousands of foreign students studying in India, a large number from countries which are in the closest geographical proximity to us. When these students return to their homelands they should carry with them feelings of friendship and goodwill towards us, which can go a long way in cementing our friendship with

their countries. Secondly, through various international students' organizations our university students can try and place before others the correct situation vis-a-vis Chinese aggression. Indeed, the building up of friendship and understanding between students on an international level is one of the most important steps towards the creation of a world order founded upon justice and freedom, which must after all be the ultimate goal of political activity in this nuclear-space age.

3. **The Economic Challenge :** It is generally accepted that one of the main motivations of Chinese aggression was conclusively to prove to the rest of Asia her superiority over India, and in particular to shatter the pace of our economic development that had begun to gather momentum over the last decade or so. The present rulers of China believe that a wholly controlled economy and a collectivized society is the only method whereby an under-developed country can achieve economic progress, and as such the system of a mixed economy that we have adopted is considered a standing challege. We have thus to make redoubled efforts to succeed in our developmental plans so as conclusively to disprove the Chinese contention and to press forward rapidly towards the attainment of our cherished social and economic goals. This involves a realization on the part of each citizen of India that he must strive his utmost to maximize production and efficiency in whatever sphere of economic activity he may be engaged, be it agriculture or industry, commerce or administration. University students are, of course, seldom directly engaged in economic activity. Nevertheless, it is important that they must be fully aware of the economic implications of the Chinese challenge, discuss and disseminate knowledge about our economic plans, and wherever possible take an active part in the execution of development projects in their vicinity.

4. **The Ideological Challenge :** This is perhaps the most important and fundamental aspect of the Chinese threat. The present rulers of China are dedicated to a system

which rejects the necessity for individual freedom and democracy. On the other hand our policy is based on the acceptance of the freedom and dignity of the individual human being and pledged to the adoption of democratic processes of government. What is more, our cultural heritage includes an acceptance of the fact that each human being possesses a divine spark which must be carefully nurtured so that it can develop into the full glory of spiritual realization. It is thus not only for our territorial integrity but also for our spiritual existence that we have to meet the present challege. University students should therefore be fully aware of the cultural and spiritual heritage that we wish to preserve, and be imbued with a profound dedication to the principles of human freedom and justice. Then alone will they be equipped to meet the aggressive and totalitarian ideological challenge which the present rulers of China have thought fit to fling at us.

Thus in meeting all the various aspects of the Chinese challenge university students can and must play a role of importance. It is youth which inherits the future, and what we require in this country are young men and women imbued with the spirit of dedication and dynamism, service and sacrifice. The supreme duty of the university student today is, therefore, to prepare himself in every way—physically, morally, intellectually and spiritually—to shoulder the tremendous burdens that history has placed upon his shoulders. The desire to serve the motherland is not enough; it must be accompanied by the ability and competence to do so effectively.



THE PASSING OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

A personal memoir by one who never met him.

I had never met him, but his dynamic presence came through even from seeing his photographs and reading his speeches—the boyish shock of hair, the friendly grin, the eyes youthful but mature, the determined chin, the whole personality keyed to action and achievement. I recall vividly the night he was elected. For various reasons I, along with many thousands of other Indians, was emotionally deeply committed to his victory. He seemed to enshrine a promise for a brighter future, for a liberal, dynamic and creative policy which would help us all create a better world. He was not very much younger than his opponent, but somehow I felt he was the personification of youthful maturity. He was fourteen years older than I, but though I had never met him I felt for him an affinity difficult to explain but clearly experienced.

On the night of the Presidential election I happened to be in a suite at Rashtrapati Bhavan where I was attending the annual Governors' Conference. I stayed glued to the radio almost throughout the night in a state of high excitement. There was no conclusive news that night, but the trend was hopeful and I finally slept for a couple of hours fairly sanguine about his victory. The next morning we were in the midst of the Conference when a messenger came in bearing a chit on a silver tray which he handed to the Prime Minister. He read it and then interrupted the proceedings with the remark "Kennedy has won the election". It took all my power of self-control to prevent myself jumping up and dancing round the table. The Prime Minister was also visibly pleased.

And then since his election I followed his movements with care—not merely because he was the head of the most powerful nation in the world but because for me he symbolized the new post-war leadership upon whose shoulders must inevitably rest the destiny of the human race. In my own country almost all the people who matter in politics are more than twice my age, and so in Kennedy I felt there was a spirit more kindred. And it was a real satisfaction to see how he and Premier Khrushchev, whom I have had the privilege of meeting several times and who must be ranked as one of the most sane and realistic statesmen of the century, together began the agonizingly precarious task of lowering tension in the world and forging closer bonds of friendship and understanding between its two most powerful nations.

I had occasion to meet his gracious wife when she visited India last year. And there were other features in Kennedy's life which drew me to him as in a way they paralleled my own experience—his aristocratic background but democratic career; his family life; the fact that he spent many months in bed due to a physical disability. And so when the news of his assassination broke a thrill of sorrow shot through me, an incredulous shock which was felt throughout the world. My first reaction was one of despair and bewilderment. There must be something radically wrong with the design of this world if its most promising and dynamic life could be snuffed out by the hands of a misguided—or perhaps carefully guided—fanatic.

But on further thought, when I weighed the event in the context of certain deeply held convictions, the despair vanished and the pain became bearable. I believe that there is a certain pattern and power that governs human destiny, and that this death—epic as it is in its tragic dimensions—is not, cannot be, in vain. Indeed some deeper purpose must be served by the sacrifice—the consummation for example of the heroic battle of the American Negro for full democratic rights and dignity. What is more, I believe that the human

soul is immortal and indestructible and that the soul of John Fitzgerald Kennedy has not perished along with his body. And then there was a certain heroic dignity in the manner of his going—no prolonged illness, no tortured screams of pain and fear. At one moment he was there in the plenitude of his powers waving to the joyous crowd that thronged to see him. The next moment, his destiny fulfilled, he fell. Is that not the truest destiny of man—the glorious creativity of life, the unutterable mystery of death ?



SPEECHES

CONFERENCE OF STATE MINISTERS OF CO-OPERATION

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

This Conference of Ministers of Co-operation is being held at a time when proposals for our Third Five Year Plan are in the process of being finalised, and thus particular significance attaches to your deliberations. Despite the success of our efforts towards large - scale industrialization, India remains overwhelmingly an agricultural country with almost 75% of our population still depending upon land for its subsistence. Hence programmes of agricultural development and production will necessarily continue for the foreseeable future to be a major pre-occupation in all our plans.

It is hardly necessary to stress the supreme importance of stepping up agricultural production, particularly of food grains, so as to make up our chronic deficit and also meet the growing population pressure. In fact increasing our agricultural production, ensuring an equitable distribution of the produce and thus raising the living standards of the vast millions of our peasants is perhaps the biggest challenge that faces us today. Co-operation has been put forward as one of the methods whereby this can be achieved, and it is to this that your Conference will give its attention. Being a lay man on the subject myself, and addressing as I am a group of people who have for many years been actively engaged in tackling the problem, I feel extremely hesitant in putting forward any views or suggestions. However, as I have been asked to inaugurate this Conference I will mention a few of the points that seem to me to deserve careful consideration.

The most difficult and perhaps controversial subject with which you will have to deal is the question of Co-operative Farming. On the face of it, the proposition appears to be attractive, because it enables the peasant to pool his meagre resources with others and thus promises to open up possibilities of development which were previously denied to him, particularly the introduction of improved and mechanized methods of agriculture. However, when we come to its practical application it becomes obvious that the whole question bristles with difficulties. This need not of course deter us from advocating and practising Co-operative Farming, but at least it obliges us to approach the problem with the greatest care.

The first difficulty that we come up against is getting our peasants to accept the scheme. Although it has been constantly stressed that he will retain ownership of his land, yet the deep-rooted conservatism of the peasant makes it difficult for him to take any step that he feels will in the slightest jeopardize his ancestral rights thereon, more so as almost invariably he has no other resource to fall back upon for his very existence. In view of the declared intention of the Government, which is entirely in keeping with our democratic system, that the process will be entirely on a voluntary basis, it is clear that the scheme can only begin functioning if and when we are able to persuade the land-owners to undertake it. Assuming that we are able to get a section of the peasants to agree to try the scheme, we come up next against the complex and many-faceted problem of organization of the Co-operative Farm. It is by no means an easy task on the one hand to allot functions to the members and see that they are properly executed, and on the other to ensure an equitable distribution of the produce which will satisfy all the participants. For this to be successful there is required a degree of organization and even education among the peasants which is not always readily available. The position

is further complicated by the fact that political parties are likely to be active in propagating their respective view-points, not all of which will necessarily support Co-operative Farming. Further, there is the danger that if smaller units are pooled together it may result in rendering a section of our rural population, already under-employed, entirely without employment and thus turn it into an increasingly restive and even explosive element in society. Finally there is the basic question as to whether Co-operative Farming as at present envisaged will in fact result in increased agricultural production. It must be remembered that the margin of subsistence upon which a peasant lives is not very large, and he cannot therefore easily afford to run the risk of failure. Also, if once the scheme of Co-operative Farming is seen to fail, it will be extremely difficult to get him to give it another trial.

I hope I have not succeeded in drawing too gloomy a picture of the prospects before us. It is not at all my intention to discourage those of you who are planning to pioneer in the field of Co-operative Farming, but merely to urge that the problem must be approached without any false illusions and with a full awareness of the difficulties and even dangers, that may have to be encountered.

To turn now to the more positive side, I might enumerate a few broad aspects of approach to the problem of Co-operation :—

(i) There can be no two opinions about the importance of strengthening and deepening the activities of multi-purpose Service Co-operatives throughout the country. These are not only good and useful in themselves, but inculcate among their members the habit of co-operative functioning which is an essential pre-requisite for the success of any scheme of Co-operative Farming.

(ii) Rural credit facilities must be greatly expanded in the course of our Third Plan so as to provide for the entire needs of our rural community. Although a good deal has been done in this direction over the last few years our credit societies have not been able to meet more than a fraction of the requirements.

(iii) A wide-spread programme of education in and demonstration of the advantages of Co-operative Farming must be launched so as to familiarize our rural masses with the advantages that will accrue to them by adopting this system. Apart from theoretical education, it will be necessary to demonstrate practically to the farmer the superiority of Co-operative Farming over the present system of individual holdings which usually consist of scattered and uneconomic units. In the last analysis, and quite apart from all ideological considerations, the concept of Co-operative Farming will stand or fall by its practical ability to raise agricultural production and thus the living standards of the farmers. It would be a good idea for pilot projects to be started on as large a scale as possible throughout the country, and this will also facilitate the practical training both of officials and non-officials in the delicate art of Co-operative management and administration which will be much more valuable than mere theoretical instruction. Newly reclaimed lands, evacuee lands and Government-owned lands provide an ideal opportunity for starting such projects because they are free from individual ownership encumbrances. At the same time if groups of villagers can also be persuaded to undertake the experiment, all the better. If it is found that in fact substantial advantages accrue to the cultivators under the system of Co-operative Farming, I have no doubt that the concept will gain wide-spread support. In this connection I may mention the example of chemical fertilizers in this State.

When they were first introduced there was considerable suspicion regarding their utility and reluctance on the part of our agriculturists to take advantage of them. When, however, they began to see that wherever the fertilizers were used the crop yield did in fact improve substantially they immediately took to it, and today we are finding it impossible to meet the demands for these chemicals. Similarly no amount of theoretical preaching will suffice to convince our peasantry of the advantages of Co-operative Farming until these can be presented to them in a more tangible manner.

(iv) In order to provide alternative avocations to our rural population, specially in the context of Co-operative Farming, and to relieve the immense pressure on the land it will be necessary to undertake a wide-spread campaign for village industries which, if possible, may be run on a Co-operative basis. This will naturally be facilitated if we are able to bring the benefits of electricity to rural areas. Also, the possibilities of utilizing for constructive purposes the immense man-power potential of rural India need to be thoroughly exploited. It seems impractical to expect villagers to contribute their labour on an entirely honorary basis, but if some sort of incentive could be provided in the form of refreshments and healthy entertainment I am sure we shall be able to make much better use of this vast man-power reserve for building up the national economy on the basis of co-operative work.

(v) Finally, I may mention a matter which, though not directly the concern of this Conference, is one that can be ignored only at dire peril. I refer of course to the problem of our phenomenal population increase which has to an alarming extent neutralized the benefits of the economic development that we have undertaken

in the first two Plans, and is likely increasingly to be a source of danger and misery to this country. Perhaps it would be absurd for me to suggest the creation of co-operative population control societies, but I do feel that we can take advantage of the vast organizations of our Co-operative and Community Development departments to inculcate in the minds of our rural millions the vital necessity of limiting the rate of population growth. Such a process of mass education is the first pre-requisite towards solving this problem. The second is the production and distribution of a cheap, effective oral contraceptive. I understand that this has now been invented and I trust it will only be a matter of time before we are able to take mass advantage of this new development.

I will not detain you any longer, as I am sure you must be eager to get to grips with the rather forbidding agenda that lies before you. I extend to you a hearty welcome to this State, and have much pleasure in inaugurating this Conference.

FIRST ADVANCED MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

I am both delighted and disconcerted to have this opportunity of participating in the Graduation ceremony of the First Advanced Management Programme to be held in our country; delighted because this gives me the opportunity to meet some of the leading business executives in India and also a distinguished team of foreign experts drawn from the famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology; disconcerted because as a lay man on the subject I am called upon to address a group of people who have probably forgotten more about the subject than I can claim to know. As such I will not venture into the technicalities of the problems that you are dealing with but will confine myself to a few general remarks regarding the importance of management, as I see it, in the context of India today.

It seems to me that anyone connected with management, whether in the private or the public sector, is confronted with two broad aspects which must claim his attention. The first is what may be called the technological aspect. The last few decades have seen an astounding development in scientific technology which has affected almost every sphere of man's economic activity. We have not only entered the nuclear age but are on the threshold of the space age in which human ingenuity and skill is breaking out of the confines of this planet and venturing into hitherto unexplored vastnesses. Of course not everyone is directly concerned with nuclear bombs and interplanetary missiles, but my point is that technological development is proceeding at such a pace that the first pre-requisite of a successful business executive

is to be aware of the innovations that are taking place in his particular vocation. Senior business executives need not of course be technicians themselves, but unless they are wide awake to the changes taking place around them they will find themselves sadly out of touch with latest developments and this will necessarily react adversely upon their business.

The second great problem that confronts the business executive is what may be termed the human problem. In whatever field of administration one may function it is essential that one will come into contact with a large number of other human beings. The higher a person rises on the administrative ladder the more significant do these human contacts become, for however ingenious may be the machines that our scientists devise there must ultimately be people both to man them and also to take advantage of their functioning. Hence the human aspect in administration is of fundamental importance, and I am sure all of you know by personal experience that an organization in which the human touch is lacking is never as efficient as one which is pervaded by a sincere regard for its constituent human material. Particularly with labour becoming increasingly conscious of its importance and demanding a fuller share of the national produce, the aspect of man-management takes on growing significance.

Having pointed out these two broad aspects of management, both of them being central and crucial to the success of any organization, we may now try and place the problem in the perspective of India today. After many decades of struggle against foreign domination we finally achieved our independence in 1947. The birth of two independent nations in the Indian sub-continent was by no means a painless one, and almost immediately we were faced with administrative and economic problems of the first magnitude. Despite all our shortcomings—and there

are many—I feel that considering the difficulties that attended the advent of freedom in India we have by and large done a good job. And when I say we I imply the people of India as a whole including the private businessmen. Nevertheless, the problems before us are staggering and we can by no means be complacent. In fact we have still to achieve what has been termed the "economic break-through", and in this context the Third Five-year Plan will probably decide the economic future of the country. This Plan, as you know, envisages an expenditure of over five and a half cores of rupees a day if both the public and private sectors are taken into consideration. For an underdeveloped country like ours this is a substantial sum, and it lays an immense responsibility upon the shoulders of those who have to administer and direct economic activity under the Plan.

Indeed it would be correct to say that upon the success or failure of our Plans for economic development might well hinge the political future of this country also. We must remember that parliamentary democracy is yet in its infancy in our country, and we cannot assume that it will necessarily survive unless favourable conditions for its growth are created and maintained. The most important of these conditions is that there should be a steady, perceptible rise in the living standards of the vast masses of our people. As you well know there has since independence been a sharp expansion in public expectations, and unless we are able at least partially to meet these expectations the whole political system which exists at present will be gravely impaired.

The immense social and economic changes that are sweeping over the face of Asia ; the deep urge among the masses to shed their age-old bonds of ignorance and poverty and ensure for themselves and their children a brighter future ; the growing awareness that economic progress in an underdeveloped country cannot be left merely to chance but

must be on the basis of a carefully planned system which, however, allows wide scope for private enterprise and initiative ; all these are factors which no thinking person today can ignore and which must force themselves upon the attention both of our administrators and business executives. For it is clear that the goal and object of both the public and private sectors is ultimately the same to increase the productive potential of the nation and thus the living standards of the people. A completely controlled economy is repugnant to the democratic system that we have chosen for ourselves, while an economy in which private industrialists can function completely unchecked will not subserve the interests of the social goals that we have set before ourselves and that our Constitution also enjoins upon us.

It therefore appears that the 'mixed economy' which has been adopted is the only way out, though the prescription of the mixture can be changed from time to time to meet the requirements of the situation. In any case it is evident that for the success of our Third Five Year Plan the smooth and efficient functioning of both the sectors is essential, and it is the duty of those in power to see that conditions for this are created and maintained.

In this context business management and public administration will have a crucial rôle to play, and it follows that training for these activities must be given top priority. It is surprising that whereas if one wants to become a doctor or an engineer or a lawyer one accepts the necessity to undergo a prolonged and rigorous course of training to fit oneself for the job, but if one enters business we often find that hardly any specialized training is considered necessary. It must be clear to everyone that business administration and management is as technical and as complex an activity as any other, and that it requires as thorough a training. In the last few years some steps have been

taken in this country to meet the growing demands for management training but so far hardly the fringe of the problem has been touched. It is therefore always encouraging to see efforts being made in this direction, and I am happy that the All India Management Association and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have collaborated to organize this advanced Management Programme here in Srinagar. This, incidentally, is yet another expression of the deep and friendly interest that the United States of America has been taking in Indian economic development. I hope that this will only be the first of many such schemes and programmes designed to fill a serious lacuna in our public life.

I am sure that all of you who have participated in this programme have benefited considerably from it, not only by association with the distinguished team of foreign experts who comprise the Faculty, but also as the result of contacts between yourselves. I hope that the beautiful surroundings of Kashmir have not distracted you from the serious problems with which you have grappled, but have only given you further strength and inspiration to come to grips with them. On the occasion of your Graduation ceremony I would like to congratulate all the participants, members of the Directing Staff and organizers of this Programme.

SYMPOSIUM ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION
INAUGURAL ADDRESS

I am happy to participate in this three-day symposium on National Integration, which has been organized as part of our annual Festival of Kashmir. This festival has many facets, including the promotion of tourism and of cultural activities throughout the State. Kashmir attracts visitors from the length and breadth of the country, and it is most appropriate that the problem of national integration, which has assumed considerable importance, should be the subject of a symposium arranged as part of this festival. We are expecting several distinguished participants, some of whom are with us this morning. I extend a warm welcome to the participants as well as the audience, and hope that this meeting will elicit a meaningful contribution to thought on the subject, and stimulate fresh ideas.

As I have been asked to inaugurate this symposium, I suppose it is expected that I should also put forward some views upon the question of national integration. Before I do so, however, I think I should define the standpoint from which I view the problem, a standpoint which may perhaps not be shared by any of the other participants. I refer, of course, to the fact that I belong to what may be called a post-independence generation of Indians. By this phrase I mean a generation which reached maturity after our country had achieved independence, and whose active political thinking and activity began after India had become free. It is not always realized that there is likely to be a difference in the political thinking of my generation and the ones that follow when compared to the older generation of people for whom foreign rule was an immediate and painful reality. For us the great freedom struggle against the British, which threw

up so many leaders and generated such a degree of political idealism, did not have any deep personal significance, though of course, we look upon it as a noble chapter in the long and varied history of our country. We take our national freedom for granted, and tend to judge men and ideas by their post rather than pre independence performances. Even the noble and towering personality of Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, who is not only a national but an international hero, appeals to us not so much because of the role he played in the freedom struggle—outstanding as this was—but because of the invaluable leadership that he has given free India in the fourteen years since we achieved independence. I am mentioning this merely to point out that the perspective in which my generation views national problems is likely to be somewhat different from that of our elders.

Having stated the standpoint from which I look upon the issue, I may now turn to the question of national integration itself. At the very outset I would like to say that all this talk of national integration should not mislead anyone within or without the nation into believing that India is in fact not an integrated nation. It must be stressed that the sovereign democratic Republic of India, stretching as it does from Kashmir in the North to Kerala in the South, from Gujarat in the West to Assam in the East, is in fact a nation one and united. It is true that there may be internal dissensions and quibblings; it is true that language and other factors sometimes create disturbance and commotion; it is even true that our age-old ideal of religious toleration and harmony is sometimes disrupted by shortsighted and misguided elements; but all this is perhaps an inescapable part of the process of massive democratic growth and development, and cannot be considered to have shaken the basic unity of the nation. Having said this, it must immediately be added that there is no room for complacency. National unity and solidarity must always be strengthened in every way possible, and

all factors which tend to militate against such unity must be actively and energetically opposed. It would be as unwise to under-estimate the strains and stresses upon national integrity as it is to over-estimate them.

Let us now turn to some of the factors that are essential if our national integration is to be strengthened. The first and foremost factor to my mind is neither linguistic nor administrative, neither religious nor social; it is the absolute necessity of creating throughout the length and breadth of this nation an idealistic concept of the greatness and unity of India, of pride in her past achievements, confidence in her present stature and hope in her future greatness. Unless this psychological, we may even say spiritual, awareness is deeply embedded in the mind of every adult citizen of India, unless we are able to generate a deeper loyalty to the nation which is stronger than any regional or other lesser loyalties, none of the other palliatives may really be of much avail. And this is particularly important for the younger generation, which must always be the mainstay of idealism.

The question arises as to how we can ensure that this inspiring ideal of India's greatness is firmly implanted in the hearts of the citizens. The first measure is obviously education. It is through education that we are building up the future citizens of the nation, and it is through education that this ideal must be created in the minds of our future citizens. Regardless of the medium of education, of the area where the education is being imparted, this aspect is a categoric imperative which must necessarily be implemented. It is the responsibility of the State Governments, and—even though education is largely a State subject—of the Government of India, to ensure that this ideal of India's greatness and unity becomes an integral part of educational curricula throughout the length and breadth of this land.

Closely allied to the problem of education is the question of language. There can be no two opinions regarding the importance and desirability of developing the great languages of India, those mentioned in Schedule Eight of the Constitution and also other lesser languages not mentioned therein. It should, however, also be equally clear that the development of a common all-India language is of the greatest importance if we are to ensure the unity and solidarity of the nation. Our Constitution-makers adopted Hindi as the official language of the Union, and as such the development of Hindi, particularly in non-Hindi speaking States, is of primary importance. In fact it would not be incorrect to say that it is of even greater importance for the non-Hindi speaking States to acquire proficiency in this language, otherwise they will be placing their youngsters at a considerable disadvantage in the years to come. It is essential, however, that this issue be tackled not in a spirit of over-enthusiasm or emotionalism but in a calm and mature manner.

In addition to Hindi, however, we have another all-India language—English. This great language, which has in the course of this century increasingly established itself as one of the great world languages, was introduced into India by her foreign rulers. But I would submit that today it is no longer alien to us. English is no longer the exclusive property of a gifted race of people living in a small island off the coast of Europe. It belongs now to the entire world, and large sections of us in India have become familiar with it. I do not think that it is in any way shameful or degrading to admit the important role that English has played in the building up of modern India. Now that we are free, we should in our own interest take advantage of this heritage of English that we possess and use it as a weapon to further our aim of national integration. In the sphere of higher education English must remain for a considerable time to come the medium of instruction particularly in the fields of scientific and technical

studies. India is playing an extremely important role in world affairs, and our knowledge of English serves us very well in these activities. It is also a window to one of the great world cultures, and we should accept whole - heartedly the contribution that it can make to the unity and integrity of our country and the broadening of our national vision.

Dealing as I am mainly with problems affecting the younger generation, I might now mention the great importance of introducing a universal scheme of national training for the youth of the country. Several schemes are already in operation, notably the National Cadet Corps, the Auxiliary Cadet Corps, the Territorial Army, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the National Discipline Scheme. But I feel that some form of national training and discipline must be made a compulsory feature in all the educational institutions of the country. The intention is not to create a war psychosis—our dedication to peace is too well known to require any reiteration—but to instil into our young men and women at an impressionable age the basic principles of discipline and service. This is a problem which must be tackled on an all-India level, as we cannot allow the luxury of each State undertaking such schemes according to their own inclinations or financial resources. Such a scheme of compulsory national training in discipline and service would replace the various programmes now in operation, and must necessarily be undertaken by the Central Government if its advantages are to be maximized.

Yet another scheme which I feel deserves close and immediate attention is the encouragement of student groups to travel outside their States to other parts of the country. At present a certain number of such educational tours do take place, and in fact I often have the pleasure of meeting student parties who come to Kashmir from all parts of the country. But the present practice is haphazard, unco-ordinated and unplanned. What is required is that the

best students throughout the nation must be given a carefully planned tour of the country at the expense of Government. The students can be selected for their proficiency in studies, sports and other co-curricular activities, and the tours should be arranged during their holidays so that they do not interfere with their academic pursuits. Such a programme would, I feel, enable our brightest youngsters to see this great country and meet fellow-students in other States at an early and impressionable age, and thus go a long way towards breaking down narrow regional prejudices.

You will have noticed that I have not spoken about the evils of casteism, communalism, regionalism and so on. It is not enough to attack isms ; it is essential to approach the problem from a positive angle, and to undertake a programme that would automatically reduce the power of unhealthy tendencies while at the same time strengthening national unity and integration. A very important such approach, of course, is in the economic sphere. Here our achievements since Independence have been encouraging, and our series of Five Year Plans symbolize our determination to break through the economic barrier and bring about a substantial and steadily expanding rise in the living standards of our people. Public expectations have risen very considerably, and a reasonably rapid and balanced economic development is one of the surest guarantees that the process of national integration will not be hampered due to economic factors. It is thus the duty of each one of us to make the maximum possible contribution towards the success of our economic Plans, for their failure is fraught with grave consequences.

In closing, I must make one last remark. To my mind national integration is not the final goal. It is important and essential, but it has become clear that the human race is outgrowing the classical concept of nationalism and of sovereign nation-states. Sooner or later, if our race is to

survive on this planet, a new integration must be found which will embrace within its ambit all mankind. This may sound very idealistic and Utopian, but it is my sincere conviction that the pressure of events must inexorably move towards an integration that is not merely national but ultimately international. The alternative is disaster for all, a situation probably envisaged by the poet when he wrote :

"The wandering earth herself may be
Only a sudden flaming word,
In clanging space a moment heard,
Troubling the endless reverie."

I have pleasure in inaugurating this symposium.



ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

It is both a pleasure and an honour for me to welcome you all to Srinagar on the occasion of the twenty-first session of the All-India Oriental Conference ; a pleasure because it gives me the opportunity to meet a large number of delegates who are attending this Conference from all corners of our great country ; and an honour because in welcoming you I am greeting a body of highly distinguished Orientologists representing the cream of Indian scholarship in this sphere of learning.

I consider the choice of Srinagar as the venue of this important Conference an extremely appropriate one. Srinagar, as you know, is a very ancient city with a history going back over two thousand years. It is believed to have been founded at the time of the great emperor Ashoka, and since then it has been witness to many interesting events in the long and varied history of this lovely valley. Not only is Srinagar a city hoary with tradition and history, but Kashmir itself has been one of the most important seats of Indian culture. As is well known, Kashmir was referred to in ancient times as the Sharda Peetha, abode of Devi Saraswati, the Goddess of Wisdom and Learning. In fact one of the famous invocations to Saraswati runs as follows :-

Namaste Sharada Devi
Kashmira Pura Vasini.

This association symbolizes the fact that Kashmir was the home of great scholars and sages devoted to the pursuit of learning. Situated as it is in the Western

extremity of the mighty Himalayas, Kashmir shares with other Himalayan regions the distinction of being one of the great birthplaces of Indian culture. The immortal words of Kalidasa regarding the Himalayas are well known :-

"Astyuttarasyam Dishi Devatatma
Himalayo Nama Nagadhirajah,
Purvaparau Toyanidhi Vagahya
Sthitah Prithivya Iva Manadandah"

"In the Northern direction is the King of Mountains, the mighty Himalayas embodying the spirit of the gods. The range spans the wide land from the East to the Western sea like a measuring rod to gauge the world's pride". In the complex of the Himalayan mountain system, Kashmir occupies a very special place, both geographically as well as historically.

It is hardly necessary for me, even if I were competent to do so which I am not, to enter in the presence of distinguished experts into a detailed description of Kashmir's contribution to the broad stream of Indian culture. It must suffice to say that in the spheres alike of Hindu, Buddhist as well as Islamic thought Kashmir has made distinguished contributions, and in some spheres, such as Indian poetics, the contribution is indeed outstanding. In the realm of philosophy the Kashmir Trika Darshana is known throughout the world as a precious heritage of Indian thought. It is valuable not only from the philosophical stand-point but also because of its literary value as a sublime expression of emotional and intellectual aspirations. Abhinava Gupta and his disciple Kshemaraja are renowned for their clear and original thinking. Another outstanding name is Kalhana, whose Rajtarangini is one of the earliest and greatest historical works in Sanskrit. Kalhana portrays therein the long vista of Kashmir's history and his work is particularly valuable as the earliest known

historical survey of this area. Kalhana's chronicle is enlivened with realistic glimpses of the socio-political set-up of his times, as are the subsequent Rajataranginis of Jonaraja, Shrivara and Shuka, which are also rich sources of material for the history of Kashmir. In addition to a rich heritage of Sanskrit, Kashmir has also made an important contribution in the sphere of Persian literature, particularly during the reign of the liberal monarch Zain-ul-Abidin. Thus Mulla Ahmed at that time rendered the Mahabharata and the Rajatarangini into Persian verse. During the Mughal period Persian literature in Kashmir reached its zenith with Mulla Mohsin Fani and Mulla Tahir Gani.

An outstanding theme of Indian culture has always been synthesis and toleration, 'Ekam Sad Vipra Bahudha Vadanti' as the Rigveda has it, and this syncretic and liberal approach has always characterized the most creative periods of Indian history. Kashmir is an excellent example of this synthesis in action. For many centuries people of different faiths have lived here peacefully and in harmony with each other, and this feature is clearly reflected in the literary and philosophical creations of this area. In the vast and varied mosaic that is India, Kashmir occupies an integral and outstanding position. Not only is it geographically the glittering crown on the fair head of Mother India, but also a symbol of the synthesis that our nation has always sought to achieve.

However much a nation may progress, its development is necessarily bound up with its past history and culture. This is particularly true of a country like ours which has an unbroken historical and cultural tradition stretching back to the very dawn of recorded history. We are now a sovereign democratic republic striving to progress in this age of science and technology and to transform our society into a modern one. It must always be remem-

bered, however, that we are necessarily building upon our past. It is a mistaken view which holds that progress can only be made after a complete break from the past. In fact, for true progress it is essential that we should draw strength and sustenance from our past history and the structure of our modern greatness must be raised upon the firm foundation of our cultural heritage. It is in a study of this heritage that the All-India Oriental Conference is dedicated, and this organization has since its inception in 1919 rendered valuable service to this study.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the foreign scholars who in the last century began the laborious task of unearthing our past. In fact I think it would be correct to say that the modern rediscovery of our ancient heritage was to a considerable extent due to foreign scholars, and this was an important factor in the Indian renaissance that began towards the end of the nineteenth century and swept to a triumphant political conclusion before the middle of the twentieth. Along with foreign scholars we have had a large number of dedicated Indian scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of various aspects of our ancient culture. The field for constructive work in Indology is vast and there are still numerous gaps in our knowledge which must be filled in. Being a layman on the subject, I am not in a position to go into the various fields of Orientology in any detail, or to point out the outstanding tasks that face Orientologists. As a layman, however, there are one or two aspects of the problem which have struck me as being particularly important and which I would venture to place before this distinguished gathering.

The word 'Oriental Conference' implies a body devoted to the study of the Orient, and that term covers, I should think almost the whole of Asia. Indology, though a tremendous field in itself, is only one part of Orientology, and for a proper

study of our own country it is essential to get a clearer picture of the whole panorama of oriental culture with specific reference to India's position therein. In particular, a study of the Arab culture and the ancient Chinese culture seems to me to be peculiarly important, because along with the Indian these form three of the most prominent strands in the cultural milieu of the Orient. I may add that the results of such study should not remain confined merely to the pages of learned journals. In the democratic age it is important that the general public should be progressively educated and enlightened with regard to these matters, and I think the Oriental Conference would be performing a valuable service if it were to disseminate the results of such research work in a manner easily understandable by the educated layman.

The second point that I wish to make is with regard to the collection of manuscripts. You are perhaps aware that we have two important collections in this State, one is in the library of our State Research and Publications Department here in Srinagar, and many of you will be familiar with the well-known Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies that have been published on the basis of some of these manuscripts. Our second important collection is the Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute at Jammu. This is attached to the famous Shri Raghunath temple in Jammu, and both the library and the temple were constructed a century ago by Maharaja Ranbir Singh who was a great patron of learning. There are, of course, numerous collections throughout the country, but there are also a very large number of manuscripts lying scattered outside proper libraries. Such manuscripts represent an important part of our heritage, and we cannot afford the luxury of letting them lie neglected. I think a concerted effort should be made to acquire such manuscripts and place them in the various recognized libraries in the country so that they become available for study and research by scholars not only from our own country but from all over the world. Unfortunately not many research institutes and libraries can afford to meet

the expenses of purchases and proper maintenance of such manuscripts,and it is obviously necessary to tackle this problem on a planned national basis. Perhaps the Union Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs can take a lead in this matter, in close consultation with the All-India Oriental Conference.

Before closing, I would like to make one general remark about the work of this Conference. We have had a glorious past, but the memory of that is not sufficient for modern India. While we can and must draw inspiration from our past achievements, we have to put all our energies into building a future even more glorious and scintilating. May I submit that while you are working upon various aspects of our past this vision of a golden future should always remain in your minds, so that you receive added inspiration in your scholarly tasks.

I once again express my pleasure in welcoming all of you to Srinagar. I hope you will have a pleasant stay here, and that amidst our beautiful surroundings you will have an unusually fruitful meeting. I have much pleasure in inaugurating this twenty-first session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

I consider it a privilege to have been invited to deliver the Convocation Address of this University, one of the premier educational institutions in the country. I must admit that when I received the invitation I was rather embarrassed. Convocation addresses are usually delivered by elder statesmen, distinguished ambassadors, eminent scientists or learned educationists. As I fall into none of these categories, I felt somewhat diffident in accepting, and the fact that I still happen to be a registered student of the Delhi University made the position even more unorthodox. Nevertheless, I gladly accepted the kind invitation for two reasons. It has given me an excellent opportunity to visit for the first time your great city of Lucknow which is the capital of our most populous State and rich with historical and cultural associations. Secondly, and more important, this has given me the chance to meet and talk to the distinguished staff as well as the students of the Lucknow University. As a student myself I have a particular interest in developing contacts with fellow students throughout the country, and my address today has been written mainly from the stand-point of one student talking to others.

I would like at the outset to convey to the staff and alumni of the Lucknow University the fraternal greetings from those of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, of which I am both the Chancellor and an ex-student. Our University is a comparatively young one, having come into being only about twelve years ago. Nevertheless, the students of that University cherish close feelings of fellowship towards those of sister universities in the rest of the country. A large number of students from Jammu and Kashmir

University have pursued their higher studies in the Lucknow University, and this constitutes a special link between these two institutions.

I had been giving some thought to the choice of a key-note for this address, and I felt that it might be suitable for me to say a few words upon the challenge, as I see it, which the younger generation has to face in present-day India. We happen to have been born in an era of great change and convulsion. In our very lifetime profound changes have taken place on the surface of the earth, not only political changes such as those resulting from the Second World War and the attainment by India of her Independence, but also far-reaching social, economic and technological changes. Indeed, if there is anything certain in the world of today it is this very process of change itself which has become tremendously accelerated in the twentieth century. Even as I speak man-made satellites circle the earth in the vastnesses of outer space, and mankind is on the threshold of still more astounding adventures into the unknown. This very scientific progress, however, that has opened up before us new vistas of hope and progress has also brought in its wake the terrible prospect of nuclear destruction and devastation. The rose is never without the thorn, and all the great blessings of scientific and technological development are overshadowed by the ominous possibilities of massive nuclear annihilation.

We are thus living in one of the most crucial eras of human history. Indeed, it is probably the most crucial since our race began its development upon this planet millions of years ago, because for the first time the power to destroy the entire human race has come within human hands. The prospect before us is thus one alike of immense and undreamt of possibilities for progress along with unprecedented hazards. It is an exciting and exhilarating time to be alive, and despite the strains and stresses that

the younger generation of the world today has to face, the adventurous spirit of youth should be happy to be witness to such momentous times.

When we turn to our country we find that the situation is very similar—there are glorious changes for development attended by grave dangers. I myself, and most of you in the audience, belong to what may be called the post-independence generation of Indians, a generation that attained maturity at a time when our country had already achieved freedom after centuries of foreign domination. This was both an advantage and, in some ways, a disadvantage. It was an advantage because we are comparatively untrammelled and uninhibited by the pre-independence phase of our history, and as citizens of independent India have opportunities for free growth and development that our elders were deprived of in the most formative years of their lives. On the other hand, the position has its disadvantages in that we have not gone through the ennobling experience of the great freedom struggle, and perhaps tend to take our national freedom too much for granted. I would like to stress that it is a grave danger to take freedom and democracy for granted, and to feel that just because we have got a democratic Constitution we are assured of unimpeded democratic development. Such complacency is entirely unwarranted. The history of other nations makes it quite clear that although the attainment of freedom involves tremendous sacrifice and struggle, its maintenance and preservation call for even greater effort and more exacting qualities of character. If we wish our country to maintain its independence and to progress in all spheres of national endeavour we will have to be prepared to struggle as devotedly and courageously as did the earlier generations to achieve national freedom.

Now devotion, dedication and sacrifice can only be elicited from human beings if there is before them some great ideal

that spurs them on. Why is it that in great national movements and in periods of war even the most ordinary individuals become capable of immense heroism ? It is obviously because they are inspired by some great ideal which imparts to them unusual strength and endurance. If we wish to evoke these qualities in the citizens of free India we must imbue them with a spirit of idealism, and as the younger generation is everywhere the mainstay of idealism it is in their hearts that the ideal must firmly be implanted. What should this ideal be ? The question is not as easy to answer as it may appear on the surface because the human individual is an exceedingly complex entity whose true depths have perhaps only been plumbed by a few great seers and sages. It would seem, however, that the ideal of every young man and woman in the country must be two-fold. On the one hand he must be imbued with the burning desire to see this nation prosper; to banish for ever the spectres of poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance that still haunt us ; to eradicate social evils and ignorance so that every citizen of India gets full opportunities for development ; to ensure that we move forward rapidly on the path of economic progress and that the living standards of our people are progressively raised ; of safeguard and maintain the security and territorial integrity of the nation and defend her against those who may have evil designs upon her ; in short to see India great in every respect and her citizens happy, enlightened and prosperous. On the other hand, each one of us should have what I may call an internal or personal ideal, which must be the fullest possible development of all our faculties—physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual. Unless every member of the younger generation is imbued with these twin ideals of national honour and individual greatness, it will hardly be possible to generate the requisite idealism whereby alone can we successfully tide over the difficulties and problems that confront us. It is the power of the great ideal that generates idealism, and this ideal must be firmly implanted

in the minds and hearts of the younger generation. I use these two words advisedly, for an ideal cannot win merely by appealing to the mind; it must also capture the heart.

It is in the inculcation of the ideal and the generation of idealism that our universities have a crucial role to play. A university must, of course, be an institution where young men and women are taught essential knowledge and skills that will enable them to earn their living and promote the material well-being of themselves, their families and the country at large. It must, however, at the same time be more than this. To provide a really valuable and educative experience, a university must be so organized as to have an impact upon the various facets of the student's personality. Thus it must cater to his physical growth by providing adequate facilities for sports and games; it must ensure his material security by imparting to him training that will enable him to become a useful and productive member of society; it must provide for his intellectual efficiency and development and enable him to develop a broad national, indeed an international, perspective; it must also seek to develop what may be called the spiritual facet of a human personality by inculcating in the students the highest ideals on the plane where all religions sink their denominational differences and unite in their basic purpose of ennobling men and enriching the human personality. This should be the true role of a university, and this is the type of education that our students have a right to receive. At the same time the young men and women who enter a university must realize that in this vast and populous nation of ours, where millions are still denied the basic necessities of life, they constitute a privileged section of society, and that it is therefore, their solemn duty to see that the privilege is in no way abused. Many students from all over the country, particularly from Uttar Pradesh, have met me during their tours of Kashmir and have asked me for my views with regard to the participation

of students in active politics. I have told them that in my opinion every university student should be intellectually equipped with a knowledge of the purposes as well as the mechanics of democracy embodied in our Constitution and also of the main tenets of the leading political parties in India. It is my considerd view, however, that the participation by university students in active party politics is detrimental to the students themselves, because it distracts them from the main task of acquiring education and tends adversely to affect their academic careers. A university student has many years of active life before him when he leaves the institution, and I do not think it is of particular advantage to him to try and telescope matters by rushing into active politics in the midst of his academic career. At the same time it is the solemn responsibility of the politician to refrain from any attempt to involve university students actively in political controversies.

I may now turn to the problem of national integration of which we have heard much in recent months, and would like to stress the very obvious fact that national integration can only be strengthened and fortified when the younger generation at present in schools and universities is imbued with a correct national outlook. With due respect to the elder generation, I must say that it is not always easy for them to change the habits and outlook that have been inculcated in them since childhood. But the young mind is more malleable and impressionable, and it should not be beyond the ingenuity of our educationists to devise a proper approach and a curriculum through which the seeds of national integration are sown in the mind of a child as soon as he enters his first educational institution. The necessity for correctly orientating our educational curricula is an over-riding one, and it is as harmful to allow undesirable text-books to be taught to our children as it would be to mix an injurious drug into the milk which they drink. The latter will poison the

body, but the former poisons the mind, and the cure is much more difficult, if not impossible.

The universities must become living centres of integration where students and teachers drawn from all parts of the country meet together in an atmosphere of intellectual enquiry and ferment, and thus create the synthesis upon which the future greatness of this country must be founded. In this context I cannot refrain from touching upon what has unfortunately become an extremely controversial subject, the place of language in our universities. While the development of regional language must obviously be encouraged in every way possible, it is also obvious that if we want a strong and united India there must necessarily be an all-India language spoken and understood by educated persons throughout the length and breadth of this country. The Constitution-makers adopted Hindi as our national language, and it is to be hoped that the day will soon come when this great language is taught, understood and spoken fluently all over the country including what are now the non-Hindi speaking areas. In the meantime, we have in English another great language at our disposal. It is, of course, true that English is not an indigenous language and was introduced into our country by our foreign rulers. Nevertheless, I think it would be very beneficial for us to retain this valuable legacy of English that history has bequeathed us. English is no longer the preserve of Great Britain, but has developed into the most important international language of the world today. India has a crucial position in world affairs, and knowledge of English is a great advantage to us. What is more important, English is valuable to us as a key which unlocks some of the greatest treasures of the human mind and civilization as they have developed in the West. Even in India some of our greatest intellectuals such as Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

Dr. Radhakrishnan, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and many others have written extensively if not exclusively in masterly English. In addition English is of great value to us in our technological education which has assumed so overwhelming an importance in the modern age. Even after Hindi becomes well known throughout the country it will be wisdom on our part to retain English as a compulsory subject in universities, though not as the medium of instruction in all subjects. At a time when Hindi is still not fully in use this would seem to be an absolute necessity. I look with horror upon the prospect of educated people from different States of the Union not being able to converse fluently with each other. This would be one of the surest barriers against national integration and I would submit that the matter should be dealt with in a calm and dispassionate manner and not allowed to be mixed up with pride, passion or prejudice.

While still on the subject of national integration, I may venture to put forward some suggestions pertaining to universities for consideration of this distinguished gathering. I am of the view that some form of compulsory national training must become an integral part of the university curricula. Although it is obviously desirable that all studies in the university should conduce to the development of a broad, liberal and progressive national outlook, I do not see why a special paper dealing with national integration should not be made compulsory for every university student. As I envisage it, this paper would cover something of India's past greatness and achievements in various fields of human endeavour, a review of Indian history dealing not only with her periods of greatness but also with her periods of decline and the flaws in our national character that brought these about ; the important features of our Constitution and the policies of our leading political parties ; economic developments since independence with special reference to our Five-Year

Plans ; and, finally, a concise picture of international affairs, and the position of our country therein This paper should be compulsory for all university students throughout the country, regardless of the subjects which they may be studying. The books dealing with this paper should be written by distinguished authorities on the various topics specially commissioned for the purpose and must be revised from time to time to bring them up-to-date. Such a measure would ensure that every single student who passes out from our universities has acquired at least a basic knowledge of the essentials of national integration, and it would help greatly in creating a national outlook amongst the educated intelligentsia.

Apart from this intellectual aspect of compulsory national training, there must also be the physical aspect. The National Cadet Corps and other associated organizations have proved extremely popular and successful and they must be expanded so as to bring within their purview the entire university population. In addition, it should be possible for this training to be linked up in some way with developmental works under the Five-Year Plans. There are many projects in hand in the vicinity of universities, and it should be possible to arrange for university students to participate in them actively as part of their national training.

Finally, I would suggest that national tours of selected students from all the universities should be organized upon an all-India basis. At present many student groups do go on tours during their vacations, and I always enjoy meeting those who come to Kashmir. But the present practice seems to me to be somewhat unplanned and unco-ordinated. It would be much better if these tours are properly organized on a national basis. Students for these national tours can be selected for their proficiency in studies, games and other co-curricular activities, and they should be given a carefully planned tour of important

places in the country at the expense of Government. This would not, of course, interfere with private tours, but I feel that the introduction of such a scheme would be a valuable instrument for building up national integration. It will enable students at an impressionable age to get a glimpse of this mighty country and help to break down the walls of narrow sectionalism and regionalism that pose so severe a challenge to our national unity and integrity.

My dear friends, students of the Lucknow University: It has been a real pleasure and privilege to have had this opportunity of speaking to you this afternoon. As I said at the outset, I am no expert on education but a young person like yourselves who is deeply interested in the past glory and future greatness of our country. In this world of today with its complexity and turmoil it may appear that an individual is utterly helpless and that it is, therefore, futile for him to try and achieve anything really substantial. I strongly feel, however, that every individual contains within himself a tremendous source of power which, if properly exploited, can enable him to live a full, constructive and meaningful life. Today those of you who have secured your degrees are passing from one phase of your lives to another. It is an extremely important day for you because you enter the outer world, varied and beautiful as it is but often cruel and hostile also. My only appeal to you is that you should cherish and develop the nobility that is inherent in every human personality and strive incessantly for the welfare and greatness of this mighty nation of ours stretching from Gujarat to Assam, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Our generation has been called upon to bear responsibilities far heavier than any generation had in the past. It is very likely that in the course of our lifetime the future of humanity itself will be decided one way or the other. Let it not be said by future historians that when the test came we were found wanting.

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

I stand before you today as the first representative of the post-Independence generation in India to have been accorded the honour of addressing the Convocation of this fine University, situated in one of the world's great seats of learning. By the post-Independence generation I mean one that attained adulthood after the country had become independent. In 1947 I was sixteen years old, and many of you in the audience must have been much younger. We have known only free India, and our recollections of the time when our country was ruled by a foreign power are vague if not altogether absent. This is a disadvantage in that we have had no first hand experience of the great freedom struggle, and therefore may tend to take our independence too much for granted ; but an advantage because we are comparatively free of the inhibitions of the past and can look towards the future with a fresh and unencumbered view.

This future will be deeply influenced by the recent shocking aggression upon our motherland by a neighbour whose friendship we had consistently sought ever since we attained our indepencence in 1947. It is indeed a monumental tragedy that the two most populous nations of the world, with great civilizations stretching back unbroken into the very dawn of human history, should be locked together not in the bonds of peace and friendship but in the toils of conflict and strife. What both nations require are conditions in which their people can progress and prosper for between them they contain a third of the entire human race. However, as we were subjected to unabashed aggression we took the only course consistent with our honour and

dignity as a free people. We fought back against tremendous odds with all the means at our disposal, aided by friendly countries whose timely assistance will always be remembered with gratitude and appreciation.

The nation has rallied magnificiently to meet this grave challenge to her freedom and integrity, and we have revealed that despite superficial weaknesses we are in fact a proud and united people willing to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary to safeguard our sacred soil.

In this context a special responsibility devolves upon the youth of India, in which I feel proud to include myself, to take the lead in strengthening the sinews of the nation and redeeming her honour. In my view we can respond most effectively to the challenge in two distinct ways. Firstly, we must participate actively and enthusiastically in the various measures that have been adopted on a national level to meet the emergency—N. C. C. training, civil defence, donations to the National Defence Fund, mobilization of savings, voluntary services and so on. Secondly, we must strive to improve ourselves both mentally, and physically, so that we will be in a better position to render effective service to the motherland. We must realize that incompetence and mediocrity will no longer suffice. What is required is a younger generation at once daring and disciplined, possessing cool heads and courageous hearts, imbued with the highest idealism yet capable of sustained hard work to build the India of our dreams.

I have no doubt that the students of the Banaras Hindu University will be in the forefront in this respect, and I can assure you that the students of Jammu and Kashmir, on whose behalf I bring you fraternal greetings, are also filled with zeal and enthusiasm. I would like to stress, however, that for university students patriotic fervour by itself is not sufficient. What is required in addition is a

carefully considered ideology that would enable us to face the future with confidence, and prevent us from being mere drift-wood in the current of history. This ideology must be firmly rooted in our past traditions and culture, for without this foundation it will be almost impossible to build a strong and lasting edifice. On the other hand, keeping in view our youth and the dynamic situation that confronts us, it must be progressive and forward-looking so as to be able to meet the tremendous challenges that confront us.

In the formulation of this ideology we must necessarily begin with the most fundamental problem of all, our view regarding the true nature and significance of the human personality. If we are content to accept that our existence is a mere biological accident devoid of any ultimate purpose or significance, and that the evolution of life and consciousness on this planet is merely fortuitous and has no underlying spiritual significance, then our world-view is likely to be devoid of hope and inspiration. On the other hand if we realize that despite his physical insignificance Man embodies an eternal and indestructible spark of divinity, and that the evolutionary process involves a steady growth of spiritual self-consciousness which must ultimately culminate in full realization, then our whole approach to the problem of life and existence will be different. The later view will help give us the equanimity and correct perspective necessary for dealing with the extraordinary conditions that exist today.

And what an amazing picture there is before us. Nuclear energy has been harnessed to produce incredible power which can be used alike to bring about unimagined progress or unparalleled destruction, and technology has achieved the stupendous feat of enabling man to break out of the confines of this planet and soar into the immense vastness of outer space. We are, however, confronted with an extraordinary paradox. Scientific achievments open out increasing vistas of progress and pros-

perity, and bring within the realm of possibility the age-old dream of a world in which want and poverty have been abolished and every human being is able to enjoy a life of comfort and dignity. Simultaneously there is the constant terror of nuclear annihilation, the continuance of fear and suspicion between nations, and an astonishing lack of general tranquility. Does this strange dichotomy in the outer world reflect a fundamental schism within Man himself ? There seems little doubt that this is so,for though he has succeeded in conquering space he has not been able to conquer himself. It is in this context that our inner approach to life assumes its full significance, for if we have no internal peace, if we are in a state of perpetual inner tension and turmoil, we can hardly expect to solve the problems that lie in the world outside us.

I would, therefore, submit that some sort of spiritual approach is a sheer necessity if we are to make any headway in the extraordinary conditions that confront us, and exploit to the fullest our deep reservoirs of strength and power. And I am tempted to add that this great University, situated in the ancient and holy city of Varanasi which for centuries has been the spiritual capital of India and a repository of our highest reaches of thinking and attainment, is in an excellent position to play a leading part in the formulation of the dynamic ideology that is so urgently required today. In the absence of any such ideology we will be like mariners lost in an endless ocean without chart or compass, vainly trying to seek the path which leads to safety but constantly being buffeted by strong waves and currents which must ultimately succeed in overwhelming us.

Such an ideology alone, firmly grounded in our ancient heritage but reaching out boldly into the future, dedicated to the fulfilment of our divine potentialities, the removal of social and economic injustice, and the development and maintenance of world peace and the brotherhood of Man, can be capable of meeting the immense challenge thrown before us by the

nuclear age. This is particularly necessary for university students, who in a developing nation like ours constitute an elite and must provide the intellectual leadership essential if a society is to have a clear direction and purpose.

The first basic component of our ideology would be an acceptance of the divinity inherent in each human being,and as a corollary the realization that human potentialities are almost unlimited. It seems to me that this concept is an essential bed-rock of a correct world-view, because unless it is accepted the true value of the individual human personality is in danger of being overlooked. Indeed, this constitutes one important difference between what may be called the Indian approach and the purely materialistic and totalitarian creed of our aggressive neighbour. It follows that the individual must remain the basic unit in our thinking, and that his welfare should not indiscriminately be subordinated to the whims and fancies of larger groups in a manner which would result in a warping of his inner development.

Once we accept this major premise, it follows that all our endeavours should be directed towards creating for the human being an environment which is conducive to the full development of his potentialities. This implies the creation of a society in which, as our Constitution so well puts it, justice—social, political, and economic, shall inform the body-politic. This should not be treated merely as a cliche but as a positive challenge to us on several clearly defined fronts.

It means firstly that all efforts must he geared towards the removal of social injustices which have been an unfortunate part of our national texture for centuries. Discriminations based on caste and other such barriers have been expressly prohibited in our Constitution, and have in many ways considerably weakened in the fifteen years since we attained our freedom. It is up to the younger generation to finally emancipate society from these discriminations, and to

create a nation in which each individual is assessed at his own worth and not as a result of any accident of birth. In free India each citizen irrespective of his religion should ideally partake of all the best qualities traditionally ascribed to the four castes; he should have the learning and wisdom of the Brahman, the valour and prowess of the Kshatriya, the commercial skill and acumen of the Vaishya and the capacity for hard and sustained labour of the Shudra. The need of today is a nation of people embodying in themselves the best of our ancient traditions and yet progressive, forward-looking and dynamic.

Secondly, in the political sphere it means that we have to labour earnestly to make a success of the vast democratic experiment which we have undertaken. Ours is the largest democracy in the world, but we must never forget that the roots of democracy in this country are constantly in need of careful nurturing. The last decade has witnessed virtually the wholesale collapse of democracy in Asia, and India stands out as almost its sole beacon in this part of the world. Indeed this is clearly one of the reasons which motivated the wanton and unprovoked attack upon us, for a successful and flourishing parliamentary democracy, embracing over four hundred and fifty million people, is a standing challenge to those who believe in the creed of chauvinistic expansionism. As such everything must be done to strengthen the democratic tradition in India so that it becomes deeply embedded in our national life.

Thirdly, there is the economic aspect, which is fundamental because it embraces the whole variety of human activity. Without a fairly substantial and steadily rising minimum level of economic prosperity, all our political and social ideals are really of little significance. We live in an age of industrialisation and rapidly developing technology. It is essential, therefore, that our economic progress be based upon these, although we cannot afford to neglect

agriculture which remains the backbone of our national economy. And we must realize that the national emergency will place a tremendous strain upon our economy which can only successfully be overcome by a marked increase in productivity and an optimum utilization of our resources. It is not my intention here to go into details of this process of economic growth and development, but only to stress the obvious fact that no modern ideology can afford to neglect the economic aspect. Indeed it must accept the primacy, though by no means the exclusive validity, of the economic problem. The view that an ideology based on an acceptance of a spiritual principle must be guilty of neglecting economic progress is sheer nonsense. A sound body and the necessities of life are essential for progress in any direction, including the spiritual, and nothing cramps the human spirit more than their absence.

We come next to a problem which has now assumed overriding significance: the maintenance and strengthening of national unity and integration. History reveals many different groupings of human beings for various purposes, such as the family, the clan, the tribe and the caste. But in the present stage of world development the most important of such groupings is the national State, and it is as a citizen of a State that the individual today gets the opportunity to develop in all spheres and to make a significant contribution to the progress of the human race. A study of the political motivation behind our great national movement will make it clear that freedom was sought not so much as a goal in itself as from the realization that without it the vast masses of India could never have the opportunity to rise to their full stature as free human beings.

We now have our freedom, but we must always remember that it was won after great struggle and suffering, and has to be maintained with equal dedication and enthusiasm. In particular those of us who belong to the post-Independence

generation must constantly remind ourselves that freedom is a rare and precious attainment which can never be taken for granted. Our long and varied history has repeatedly taught us that if we are to retain our freedom it can only be as the result of unity and integration. The overriding importance of national integration is, therefore, an essential feature of our ideology, and here our universities have a vitally important role to play. They are in effect living crucibles of integration, and we must ensure that they remain in fact, and not only in theory, open to students from all different parts of the country. Nothing would be more disastrous for integration than if our universities were to become linguistically, and hence regionally, exclusive and unaccommodating.

The crux of national integration is to consider national loyalty to be on an entirely different plane from the other loyalties to which we owe allegiance, such as loyalty to our region, linguistic group, religious affiliation and so on. This should really not be difficult, because viewed in the correct perspective these loyalties are in fact complementary. Also, although we will naturally have a specially deep emotional attachment to our own particular groupings, this should not be accompanied by an aversion towards any other such grouping. Particularly in the case of religions, any antipathy towards a religion other than one's own is clearly a sign of ignorance and fanaticism. All religions are in essence formulations over the centuries of human striving towards perfection, and they deserve the fullest reverence from all thinking people. Whether one agrees or disagrees with a particular tenet of any religion is besides the point. Living in a free country there is, happily, no dictation upon our freedom of thought, but to attack or run down any other religion is definitely a misuse of this freedom and goes completely against the grain of the democratic spirit.

Regarding languages also, it is amazing how linguistic

differences have been seen to arouse the deepest passions and prejudices. If we look upon the various languages in this country as so many diverse strands of a colourful and varied tapestry, we will find that they all contribute towards the enrichment of our national heritage and culture. To allow linguistic differences to weaken the very fabric of our nation would indeed be a tragedy too deep for tears. And in this context I would like in particular to make two remarks. Firstly, Sanskrit, as the great mother language of our culture and civilization, and the repository of the highest intellectual achievements of the race, must receive greater attention and encouragement at all levels in our educational system. Secondly, English also has played a profoundly significant role in the development of modern Indian nationalism and as a great world language and vehicle of scientific knowledge it deserves careful cultivation, particularly at the university level.

In fact all languages are so many keys that unlock for us priceless treasures of the human spirit, and although we may favour some languages above others it is absurd and unjustified to attack any language. Regional, religious, linguistic and other differences, therefore, must not be allowed to weaken national unity, and it is the responsibility of our generation to ensure that integration at all levels is strengthened so that we can push forward rapidly towards the realization of our cherished goals. In this context the recent traumatic shock of aggression has had a welcome impact, in that our petty disputes have faded into the background with the upsurge of a fervent and enthusiastic sentiment of national unity. This sentiment must now be made so strong that it will never again require the artificial stimulation of a foreign threat.

As the cap-stone of our ideological system comes a concept which transcends even nationalism. I refer, of course, to internationalism and the bonds which bind

together all members of the human race living throughout this planet. In the same way as the nation ultimately transcended lesser formulations, it will in turn necessarily be transcended by an international loyalty to the world community. This is not only an imperative of social and political evolution, but a necessity for the very survival of the human race. It is true that national divisions and animosities in the world today are so deep that there appears to be little possibility of their submergence in the near future. Nevertheless, Utopian idealist though I may be called, it is my faith that sooner or later the very logic of destiny will inexorably push forward towards a realization of the brotherhood of Man and the unity of Mankind. The acceptance of this ideal would, in fact, be the culmination of the basic premise from which our ideological formulation sprang—the divinity inherent within each individual. If each human—being is intrinsically divine, it follows that the whole of humanity is linked together by a deep spiritual bond which no national rivalry or hatred can ultimately sever, and towards the institutionalization of which an important part of our energies must be directed. This, ultimately, is the only safeguard against the menace of nuclear annihilation that now hangs over the world, and its achievement is the greatest single challenge facing the younger generation in the world today.

My dear friends, in closing I would like to express what a real privilege it has been for me to have had the opportunity of sharing some ideas with you on this solemn occasion of your Convocation. I congratulate those of you who have today received academic distinctions and honours, and wish you rewarding careers in the service of the nation. I am proud, as I am sure you all are, to be associated with this great institution of learning, and I pray that we may be granted the physical, moral and spiritual strength to live up to its noble ideals. I repeat that it is upon your shoulders that the future of the nation depends,

particularly at this crucial juncture in our history. Many of you are today leaving the sheltered portals of the University and issuing forth into a world of strife and struggle. Of this you need not be afraid, for to strive and to attain is the destiny of man. We are children of the nuclear age, but at the same time as the Upanishads put it, we are "children of Immortality". May I express the hope that our generation will rise to the requirements of the modern age, so that those who follow may inherit a nation strong and prosperous, free from fear and strife, in which they can live in harmony with themselves and at peace with their fellowmen.



THE MESSAGE OF THE MUNDAKA UPANISHAD

BESANT MEMORIAL LECTURE VARANASI

At the outset I owe you a word of explanation for my audacity in choosing to speak upon an Upanishad, our most profound scripture, in Varanasi, which for centuries has been the centre of Hindu religious studies, before an audience as distinguished and discriminating as yourselves. The undertaking is even more presumptuous when I have no claims to be either a scholar of Sanskrit or a philosopher. I have risked the perilous venture simply because I feel that the Upanishads are too important to be the preserve only of scholars, and because I believe that they contain a message that is relevant and significant to each one of us today. I hope, therefore, that you will be patient and appreciate the motives that have prompted a layman like me to choose the subject for this evening, the message of the Mundaka Upanishad.

Before I speak on the Upanishad, however, I would like to pay my tribute to the remarkable woman in whose memory this lecture is held. Annie Besant's contribution to the political, cultural and spiritual renaissance in India is too well known to need any reiteration. Although born and brought up thousands of miles away from this country, she served India and its people with deep devotion and courage. Her role in creating the Banaras Hindu University was significant inasmuch as she founded the Central Hindu College here which became the nucleus of this great University. I will add that we in Kashmir have a special affection for Annie Besant. Her first visit there was in 1901 when she made a pilgrimage to the holy cave of Amarnathji. Between then and 1926 she paid several visits to the Valley, and left a permanent

beneficial impress upon the life of the people there. In close collaboration with my grand-uncle Maharaja Pratap Singhji she was responsible for the founding of the Hindu High School which did pioneering work in boys' education. She also started in Srinagar the Women's Welfare Trust to promote the educational and physical well-being of women, and the Kashyapa Theosophical Lodge. The Hindu High School later became the Sri Pratap College which is today one of the leading educational institutions of the State; the Women's Welfare Trust now runs two High Schools and one Middle school, while the Theosophical Lodge still continues to function actively. This great and noble lady will thus long be remembered for her services to the people of Kashmir, and I take this opportunity of paying my homage to her memory.

The oldest and most important of the Hindu scriptures are the Vedas. Each of the four Vedas, the Rik, the Sama, the Yajur and the Atharva are divided into two parts; the first is made up mainly of hymns, instructions regarding rites and ceremonies, and rules of conduct, in other words with what may be termed work. The second part consisting of the Upanishads concerns knowledge, the unitive knowledge of the godhead which is the highest aspect of religious truth. The Upanishads are not philosophical treatises in the modern sense of the word, they are rather short notes and aphorisms put down by self-realized sages and consist of dialogues between such sages and seekers after truth, *shishyas* 'sitting near' the *gurus*. They have a remarkable freshness and spontaneity, and glow with the stamp of truth. It is impossible to say how many Upanishads once existed, but 108 are still extant of which 10 are considered to be the principal Upanishads, including the Mundaka. The Mundaka Upanishad belongs to the Atharva Veda and consists of 64 verses. The name is derived from the root 'munda' to shave, implying that he who comprehends the teachings of the Upanishad is

shaved or liberated from error and ignorance.

Every Upanishad starts with an invocation. Most of these stanzas contain a positive and sparkling life affirmation which belies the view put forward by some that the Upanishads advocate a negative withdrawal from and rejection of life. The invocation to the Mundaka Upanishad itself is a powerful life affirmation :

'AUM, with our ears may we hear what is auspicious; may we, O ye worshipful Gods, see with our eyes what is auspicious; may we with strong limbs and body sing praises and enjoy the full span of life allotted to us by the Gods. May the far-famed Indra be auspicious to us; may the all-knowing Pusha be propitious to us; may He whose wheel is never stayed grant us well-being; may Brihaspati ensure our welfare.'

After the invocation, the Upanishad opens with a spiritual geneology tracing the esoteric knowledge from its primeval source down to Angiras, a self-realized seer. He is approached by Shaunaka who asks:

'O venerable one, what is that by knowing which every thing becomes known ?' This question has echoed and re-echoed down the corridors of time, and has lost none of of its significance. It is no ordinary question, it is not an enquiry regarding this or that phenomena, not mere intellectual curiosity. It is, in fact, the most fundamental question that can be asked, and reflects the intense desire for ultimate knowledge in the mind of the questioner. The questioner here is Shaunaka who is described as a great householder. This is significant because it is all too often assumed that the wisdom of the Upanishads is only for Sanyasins and ascetics. If that was so, very few of us gathered here would be justified in studying them. But Shanaunaka we have a person who is the head of a

great household with much wealth and numerous family relationships, but who has evidently risen above the satisfactions that such material pleasures can give and seeks that transcendental knowledge which alone can ensure everlasting bliss,. This means that it is open to all of us who are engaged in worldly pursuits to seek the higher knowledge. I consider this a very important point, because it brings within the reach of the householder the whole great body of mystic teaching enshrined in the Upanishads. What Shaunaka the great householder attempted to do we also are entitled to attempt. and the question which he asked Angiras is one which we must also ask if we wish to fulfil our inner potentialities.

It is worth noting that Shaunaka approached Angiras, a realized teacher, in 'due manner'. This is significant because in the gnostic teaching the personal relationship between the Guru and the Shishya is of the utmost importance. The integral knowledge cannot be imparted merely by exegesis, for the simple reason that it is not information derived from learning or scholarship but rather a realization, an experience. The Guru has, therefore, not only to be learned in the Vedas but also devoted to the contemplation of the Brahman, for he has to lead the aspirant to the Truth and give him an insight into the all-encompassing mystery, what the Voice of the Silence calls" the voidness of the seeming full, the fullness of the seeming void."

Throughout the Upanishads there is clearly visible the deep affection and love that existed between a Guru and his disciples whom he addresses as Somya, a term of affection and endearment. This, of course, also assumes an attitude of humility and devotion on the part of the student, an attitude which is unfortunately becoming increasingly less in evidence in the modern world. It bears repeating, however, that if we really wish to learn any-

thing worthwhile, specially in the sphere of true philosophy and religion, we have at least partially to recreate the Guru-Shishya relationship that flourished in such a creative manner during the period of the Upanishads.

In answer to Shaunaka's question Angiras propounds the theory of two types of knowledge, the higher and the lower. In the lower knowledge he includes the four Vedas as well as the six Vedangas—phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metre and astronomy. This reveals a courageous independence of thought, as there are probably few people other than the Hindus who would be prepared to admit that their sacred books belong to the lower knowledge. For the realized seers of the Upanishads there was never any dogmatic reliance upon books or individuals, they would rest content with nothing less than the supreme knowledge. It is this that Angiras calls the higher knowledge, 'that by which the indestructible is known'.

What is this indestructible, imperishable entity which is to be sought? By its very nature the Ultimate Reality cannot be expressed or described in words, because it is something that far transcends the intellect. Nevertheless, ever since humanity began its long evolutionary adventure, attempts have been made the world over by people who have realized the Truth to express it in words, either for their own satisfaction or for the enlightenment of their fellow men. The Upanishads contain some of the most arresting descriptions of the Absolute, and the Mundaka Upanishad has some beautiful verses such as :

'That which is invisible and unseizable, without origin or attributes, without eye, ear, hands or feet, eternal, all-pervading, subtlest of the subtle, imperishable, whom realized sages behold as the source of all.' (I-1-6)

'In the supreme golden sheath shines the Brahman,

stainless, without parts. A splendour is that, the light of lights ; it is that which the self-realized know.' (II-2-9)

'Fire is His head, the sun and moon His eyes, the quarters His ears, the revealed Vedas His voice, the wind His breath, the universe His heart, the earth His foot-stool; He verily is the inner soul of all beings.' (II-1-4)

If the Imperishable Reality is difficult to express, the progress of creation is even more difficult to explain. Two verses of the Mundaka Upanishad describe the mystery of creation by similes from everyday life. These cannot be called descriptions, they are rather creative myths which help to explain the effortless manner in which this universe is projected and the differentiated cosmos of names and forms emerges from the great undifferentiated matrix :

'As the spider sends forth and draws in its thread, as herbs spring from the face of the earth, as hair grows on the body and head of a living man, so does the universe emerge from the immutable.' (I-1-7)

'This is the Truth : as from a blazing fire thousands of sparks fly forth essentially akin to the fire, so O dear one, do various living souls emanate from the imperishable and unto Him return again.' (II-1-1)

After describing the lower and the higher knowledge, Angiras proceeds to explain that the rewards of ritual sacrifice are ephemeral and transitory. This does not mean a rejection of works—indeed Angiras empha-sizes the importance of works correctly performed, giving the altar and the swaying tongues of the sacrificial fire a rich symbolic meaning. But works have to be performed with a full realization of their inner meaning, action must be rooted in the contemplation of the Brahman. This alone will open the window of the soul to the ineffable prospect of divine realization.

We must remember that in Vedic times the sacrifice occupied a central position in the religious practices of the Indian people, and the mode of their performance was laid down in the greatest detail. As so often happens, however, many people became so involved in the rituals that they lost touch with the true spiritual essence of the sacrifice. Properly performed these sacrifices did yield their due results, but the Upanishadic seers realized that these results were confined only to a certain degree of material well being, either on this earth or elsewhere and that no real spiritual progress was possible merely by intellectual study or following the rituals of the sacrifice. The Mundaka Upanishad graphically portrays this limitation :

'But frail indeed are the rafts of sacrifice, all the eighteen forms, which are said to be inferior *karma*. Fools who rejoice in them as the highest good fall again and again into the world of age and death. Dwelling in ignorance but considering themselves wise, conceited and puffed up with vain scholarship, they stumble about like blind men led by the blind.' (I-2·7)

It is difficult to find a more withering commentary upon those who consider material possessions the highest human good, and who, therefore, spend their entire time and energy trying to amass such things either in the present or for their future lives. The Mundaka Upanishad clearly points out that such a restricted horizon is disastrous for the inner growth of the individual.

It needs to be re-emphasized, however, that the Upanishads do not advocate a sickly withdrawal from activity, a negative response to the great adventure of living. Indeed, the Vedas sparkle with a positive life-affirmation. But at the same time the Upanishads make it clear that mere material prosperity is not the supreme goal of mankind. While we must engage overselves with courage and

vigour in the *Karmabhumi* that is life, we must at the same time constantly try to transcend material forms and to achive a higher spiritual equilibrium. Life is not to be shunned, that would be cowardice. Life is to be lived fully, but transcended into the greater and wider spiritual life that lies beyond.

The second chapter of the Mundaka Upanishad contains in its first section ten verses which affirm the overriding fact that everything which exists springs from the one undifferentiated Brahman. Life and mind, the senses and the elements, the Vedas and the sacrifices, the gods and the demi-gods, men and beasts, herbs and cerals, oceans, and mountains, chastity and austerity, faith and truth, all flow from the one immutable Reality. It concludes with the following verse :

'The spirit itself is all that exists : He is works, and He is austerity, supreme and immortal. O dear one, he who realizes Him hidden in the secret cave of the heart, cuts asunder even here in this world the knot of ignorance. (II-1-10)

The emphasis upon liberation in this very life is important. It is the hallmark of esoteric religion that it promises liberation only in some future life, while the higher esoteric teaching always insists that liberation is possible here and now, in this very life, if the disciple is able to raise himself to the required level. The goal is not heaven but liberation. Even heaven is impermanent and hence cannot be the highest aspiration. Liberation, it may be added, does not necessarily mean cessation from works. It means that the binding force of works no longer operates.

The symbolism of the bow is well known in esoteric literature, but perhaps its most dramatic presentation is found in two verses of the Mundaka Upanishad. These graphically symbolize the process whereby the limited individual soul merges itself in the great ocean of Reality,

and also emphasize the necessity for creative action on the part of the aspirant if he is to achieve his goal :

'Take up the bow of the Upanishad, that mighty weapon, and get to it the arrow sharpened by devotion. Then having drawn it back with the mind directed entirely to the contemplation of the Supreme, strike that target, O dear one, which is the Imperishable. AUM is the bow, the soul is the arrow and Brahman is the target. That must be pierced with unswering attention ; then the soul is absorbed into the eternal and becomes one with It, even as an arrow is lost in its target.' (II-2-3 and II-2-4)

This powerful series of images places before us in dramatic form the supreme destiny of the human soul. Its imagery is rich with symbolism. AUM itself can be considered as the symbol par excellence of the Supreme. Many other Upanishads, particularly the Mandukya, deal at length with this fascinating word symbol. The Mundaka itself has another verse in which the teacher tells the disciple:

'Meditate on the self as AUM; happy be your passage to the other shore beyond the darkness'. (II-2-6)

The 'bridge to immortality' as the Mundaka Upanishad calls it, is there for all of us to cross. What is required is the necessary aspiration, devotion and unflinching courage which alone will enable us to cross this rainbow bridge. Once across, we live in the vision splendid, so beautifully described in the last verse of the Second Mundaka:

'All this is the immortal Brahman, naught else; Brahman is in front and behind, to the right and to the left, below and above; it stretches everywhere. Verily all this is Brahman alone, all this magnificent universe'. (II-2-12)

The third and last chapter of the Upanishad opens with two verses describing the Jivatma and the Paramatma as two birds dwelling upon the same tree, one of which eats the sweet fruit of the tree while the other looks on as a witness. When the individual soul realizes the identity of his companion, who is really his own inner self, he at once shakes off his limitations and becomes identified with It :

'When the seer beholds the golden and self-luminous Creator, the Lord, the Spirit who is the source of Brahma, then shaking off both sin and virtue he becomes stainless and reaches the Supreme identity'. (III-1-3)

Then follow the memorable verses about truth, from one of which we have chosen our national motto :

'The self-resplendent, luminous and pure Atman, whom the sinless devotees behold residing within the body, can always be won by the unceasing practice of truth, austerity, integral knowledge and a life of purity. Truth alone triumphs, not falsehood; by truth the path is laid out, the way of the Gods, by which the sages whose every desire is fulfilled ascend to where truth has its supreme abode.' (III-1-5 and III-1-6).

The words Satyameva Jayate are now emblazoned upon our national emblem. We must not forget, however, that in its broadest sense the word 'truth' is to be understood to mean the sovereignty of the Brahman, which is both immanent and transcendental:

'Brahman shines forth vast, self-luminous, unthinkable, subtler than the subtle: very far is He beyond what is farthest, and yet He is here very close to us. Verily He is seen here itself, hidden in the sacred cave of the heart.' (III-1-7).

How is this Self to be known? Towards the end of the Upanishad we have two powerful verses which clearly point out the prerequisites for self-knowledge:

'The Self cannot be attained by mere knowledge, nor by intellectual power, nor by much learning of scripture. Only by him whom It choose can It be won;. to him the self reveals Its own nature. This self cannot be attained by one without strength, nor by carelessness nor by aimless austerity: but when a man of knowledge strives by these means then his self enters into the abode of Brahman.' (III-2-3 and III-2-4).

These verses are a striking affirmation of the fact that the spiritual quest is no weak-kneed, wishy-washy undertaking. Indeed its goal is the highest destiny of man, and therefore its quest involves a supreme act of faith and devotion, accompanied by unshakable will-power and unflinching courage. We study for almost two decades from primary school to technical degree before we can hope to become qualified doctors or engineers, and during this time spend many hours every day in the pursuit of our studies. Yet when it comes to the spiritual quest we fondly hope that by some miracle we will attain the goal in the twinkling of an eye. Nothing can be attained unless the price for it is paid in one form or the other. Of course we have no way of knowing how far each one of us has already travelled on the path, but we must always be prepared to pay whatever price may be necessary in terms of study and sacrifice, dedication and devotion, *karma* and contemplation. We must be strong in body and mind, dynamic in intellect and spirit, if we are to achieve the goal. This I feel is the supreme message of the Mundaka Upanishad, and thereby alone can we achieve what is described in the verse with which I will close this lecture:

'As the flowing rivers disappear into the ocean casting off their name and form, even so the knower, freed from the bondage of name and form, attains the supreme divinity, the highest of the high. (III-2-8).

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD MEETING, VARANASI
INAUGURAL ADDRESS

I consider it a privilege, as Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University which is playing host to this meeting of the Inter-University Board, to welcome all the eminent educationists who have collected here. I happen also to have close association with some of the other Universities represented at this Conference such as the University of Jammu and Kashmir of which I am Chancellor, the University of Delhi of which until last year I was a student and the Aligarh Muslim University which honoured me with an honorary Doctorate. This helps me to feel some what more at home in your distinguished company than I would otherwise have been.

It is indisputable that the universities have a peculiarly important role to play in the development of our national life. They are the training grounds for the future leaders of thought and action in India, and will thus mould the contours of our national development. Since we attained independence in 1947 there has been a remarkable growth in university education, reflected both in the number of universities as well as in the growth of the total university student population, and the continuing thirst for higher education will inexorably demand further expansion. This great boom in higher education has come about at a time when we are making determined efforts to raise the living standards of the vast millions who inhabit this great land and to take our place among the economically developed nations of the world. As I see it, the universities in India today have three broad functions to fulfil : firstly, to create a body of young men and women technically equipped to deal with the expanding administrative and technological

demands that face us in the future ; secondly, to pour into society a steadily growing stream of young people who will be intelligent, enlightened and responsible Indian citizens and who will inevitably form the backbone of our democratic policy ; and thirdly, to give each one of its students sufficient intellectual stimulation to enable them to actualize their inner potentialities and attain as high a material, moral and spiritual equilibrium as possible. It is upon the manner in which our universities are able to fulfil these three fundamental tasks that the future destiny of our nation will largely depend.

I am well aware of the numerous technical problems that Vice-Chancellors and others connected with university education have at present to face. These range from the criteria of admission to problems of student discipline ; from the content and method of examinations to the organization of co-curricular activities ; from the all-pervading bread and butter problems of finance to the crucial matter of correct selection of teachers. It is hardly necessary for me to catalogue these problems. You live with them every day of your lives and are experts on them or at least are expected to be so and it would be most presumptuous for me to try and advise you about them. I will, therefore, confine my remarks to some issues dealing with the collective organization and functioning of universities with special reference to the role of the Inter-University Board. This provides a common platform for discussion thus helping to arrive at that free consensus of opinion so essential in a democratic society, but I may remark that it is unfortunate that several universities are still not members of the Board because this detracts from its fully representative character.

I will dwell briefly on some of the spheres in which I feel the Inter-University Board can make a significant contribution :-

(a) It should act as a clearing house for all types of information connected with our universities, and for this purpose it must build up a strong statistical cell wherein this information can be properly collated and put out in such form as may be required. This necessarily implies a planned and regular publications programme covering all aspects of university activity.

(b) It is extremely important that a certain amount of horizontal mobility of teachers and even students should continue to take place between various universities in our country. It is true that linguistic exclusiveness is making this increasingly difficult, but it would be sad day if such mobility is completely inhabited. The Inter-University Board, by keeping in close touch with all the universities, can help in the movement of teachers from one university to another so that they come to rest at the place where their services are most valuable.

(c) The Inter-University Board is, or should be, the main body which deals with foreign university organizations. I myself, and several of you in the audience, had occasion earlier this year to attend the Quinquennial Congress of Commonwealth Universities in London. I am not sure that the Secretary of the Inter-University Board was present, but I do feel that it is just a sort of activity in which this organization should be closely involved. It is a matter for gratification that two universities of Ceylon are the members of the Board, and efforts should be made to forge closer ties with universities in our other neighbouring countries, specially Burma, Nepal and Pakistan.

(d) There is already a separate wing of the Board dealing with Inter-University sports. I feel that there

is room for further activity in this sphere, and that the scope of sports should also be expanded. For example, chess is an intellectual activity of the highest calibre and is a game which is believed to have originated in India but there is no inter-university chess tournament. Indeed if the Board agrees to institute such a tournament I would be happy to present a suitable challenge trophy.

(e) There has, of late, been a widespread feeling that standards of instruction are declining in many universities. This is due, of course, to a large variety of reasons into which it is not possible here to enter. It must suffice to remark that the Inter-University Board has an important responsibility to try and ensure as high standards as possible and also to strive for some uniformity between various universities. This is of particular importance in the field of science and technology, where the highest standards have to be set and maintained. In this context I saw quoted recently a delightful passage from Dr. John W. Gardiner's book on 'Excellence' which I cannot resist passing on to you. He writes:

> "An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."

We must not let such a disaster overtake our society !

(f) The necessity to correlate university education with the economic needs of the country is gradually being

realized but has hardly begun being implemented. Some universities do have employment and vocational guidance facilities, but a great deal more requires to be done in this regard. While this responsibilty rests primarily on the universities themselves, the Inter-University Board should also urge its members to pay special attention to this important activity.

(g) I would suggest that the Inter-University Board take an active interest in promoting joint academic projects between various universities, as this can be of great value in knitting together the intellectual talent of the nation. Why could not, for example, the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim Univessity and the Jammu and Kashmir University collaborate upon a joint project such as a study of the Shaiva and Sufi movements in Kashmir? The Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. D. S. Kothari, with whom I discussed this matter of inter-university co-operation, responded most favourably to the idea. I venture, therefore, to place before this distinguished gathering the plea that creative collaboration between universities in various fields of study and research should actively be encouraged.

We must remember that apart from filling a particular role in the region in which they are situated, every university in this country is an Indian university and must, therefore, partake of a commom cultural and academic sub-stratum to offset the danger of regional and provincial exclusiveness. It has become unfashionable to talk of national integratoin since the Chinese aggression last year, because it is assumed that this external threat at one stroke achieved what we had been trying to do ever since 1947. I believe, however, that this is a facile and unjustified assumption, and that we must continue to work actively for national

integration and solidarity. In this strengthening of the national personality our universities have a leading role to fulfil and we should never let the numerous material and administrative problems with which all of us connected with universities have constantly to grapple deflect us from this over-riding responsibility.

As one who until last year was himself a university student, I will not close this inaugural address without making a special mention of the great importance of eliciting from the younger generation that creative idealism without which no nation can become and remain great. The framework of the universities is made up of teachers and administrators, but it is the young adult who forms its living tissue. Unless we are able to enthuse the minds of our young men and women and set aflame the spark of idealism that glows within them, we will be failing in our duties regardless of the quantity or quality of information that we succeed in getting into their minds.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting and the Ninth Quinquennial Conference of the Inter-University Board, and I wish you a very rewarding session.



KASHMIR TO DAY

Radio Broadcast for the External Services of A. I. R:

The State of Jammu and Kashmir possesses great natural beauty and has an irresistible attraction for the traveller from all nations. The valley of Kashmir is famous for its lakes and sparkling streams, flower-spangled meadows and Moghul gardens, poplar and chinar trees, almond and cherry groves, and world-renowned apple orchards. It is a land of splendid sunsets and glistening snows. It is the abode of game and fish, of the Kashmir stag and the rainbow trout. The fruit is varied and sweet; the water of the natural springs cold and health-giving. Its natural fascination draws thousands of visitors every year, not only from every corner of India itself but from all over the world, who come to experience the romance and music for which Kashmir has been renowned for centuries.

Jammu and Kashmir has an area of more than 84,000 square miles, though large chunks of it are still in the illegal possession of two aggressors, Pakistan and China. In spite of the continuing double threat from two hostile neighbours, the State has made phenomenal progress in recent years as an integral part of the Republic of India. This is due to the stability and security brought about by democratic processes of government and careful economic planning.

Srinagar, the summer capital of the State. is linked with the rest of the country by road and air. In summer a tourist reaches the enchanting valley in less than two hours by plane from Delhi. More varied is the journey by rail from Delhi to Pathankot and then by car or bus to Srinagar. A broad highway, more than 250 miles long, skirts moun-

tains and streams and passes through the Jawahar Tunnel in the Banihal mountain into the valley of Kashmir. The tunnel, built a few years ago at a cost of more than thirty million rupees, is a superb engineering feat and a symbol of the State's dramatic progress.

The splendid valley of Kashmir lies in the Himalayas at an average height of five thousand feet above sea level. It is about eighty-four miles in length and twenty to thirty miles in breadth, entirely surrounded by lofty mountains like a gleaming sapphire set in a ring of pearls. On the south-west is the Pir Panjal range, over which passed the old road once traversed by the Moghul Emperors. Gulmarg—the meadow of flowers—with its famous golf links, skiing slopes and pine forests nestles in this range. In the north-east is the picturesque sub-valley of Pahalgam through which flow the fast-rushing, turquoise waters of the Liddar stream. Beyond Pahalgam lies the holy cave of Amarnath which beckons thousands of pilgrims every year. Last year King Mahendra of Nepal was among the devotees who paid their homage to the famous Shiva image in the cave formed by nature in ice. There are numerous other beautiful picnic spots and ancient monuments to delight and beguile the tourist.

A network of roads connects distant villages and valleys in the State with the main highway. Travelling has, therefore, become easier and faster, and the rich hinterland has been thrown open to commerce and new ideas. There has been large-scale road development during the last decade, and the State now has over four thousand miles of tarred and untarred roads with many more under construction. The impact of this on the economy has been far-reaching. The roads hum with trade and traffic, and over 7,000 vehicles operate in different parts of the State bringing in merchandize from all over the country and taking out to distant markets Kashmir's celebrated handicrafts, its fine embroidery

and pashmina shawls, carpets and numdahs, hand-carved woodwork and silver engraving, papier mache and precious jewellery.

Special attention has been paid to the development of fruit growing, and this sustained effort is yielding rich dividends. Fruit worth about seventy million rupees is now supplied by the State to other parts of the country, including a large quantity of walnuts which find a ready world market. Another source of increasing wealth is the income from forests which has now exceeded forty million rupees a year as against a bare seven million in 1952-53. Jammu and Kashmir's rich forests are meeting the country's increasing demand for railway sleepers. Wood-based industries are also being set up in the State.

During the last decade the State has made rapid progress in all spheres of development. It is the first State in India where education is entirely free from the primary to the post-graduate stage. There are now more than 4,000 Primary and Basic Schools, 246 High Schools, 14 Arts and Science Colleges, 7 Industrial training institutes and 8 professional colleges, including Engineering, Medical and Agriculture colleges. There has been a marked expansion in women's educational institutions. Great stress has been laid on providing technical education, for which interest free loans are also given by the State to enable its students to obtain degrees elsewhere in the country and even abroad. This has enabled the State to have a growing corps of technically trained personnel in various fields of developmental activity.

Side by side with education, public and other nation-building activities are receiving increasing importance. Per capita expenditure on health has risen from half a rupee to four rupees per annum. Disease eradication campaigns are receiving special attention, as the result of which typhus

has been virtually eradicated and malaria is sharply on the decline.

Tourism is a very important industry in the State, and the Government is devoting constant attention to its expansion. Tourist huts and hotels have come up fast, and the number of rest houses has increased. Srinagar now has a unique Tourist Reception Centre where tourists can stay in comfortable rooms at moderate rates for twenty-four hours before making other arrangements of their choice. Well furnished houseboats are available on the Dal Lake and along the Jhelum river in Srinagar for those who wish to have the unique experience of living on water. Swimming, boating, shooting, fishing and hiking are other tourist attractions in Kashmir, which is also famous as a photographer's paradise.

The economic face of the State has undergone a rapid change. The investment of more than 270 million rupees during the first two Five Year Plans gave an all-round fillip to development. 750 million rupees are being spent during the current Plan. Various medium and small-scale industries have come up. A factory is now producing decorative veneers, plywood and chipboard, and another is manufacturing ceramics. A State-owned factory has made the valley self-sufficient in cement, and a similar one is coming up in the Jammu Province. A factory to produce prestressed cement concrete has gone into production, another to turn out spun pipes is almost ready. Coal production has started in the Kalakote coal fields where a plant is being set up to generate 22,500 Kwts. of thermal power. The Reasi fields near Jammu are the only proved coal reserve in North India.

Power generation has made rapid strides to meet the growing demands. The installed capacity is now 31,000 Kilowatts, about eight times as much as in 1947. Various schemes are in hand to tap power from the State's water

resources. A Minerals Corporation has been set up with a capital of fifty million rupees to exploit the State's mineral wealth. Jammu and Kashmir is rich in minerals like coal, lignite, gypsum and copper. Kashmir sapphires are world famous and are again being mined at Paddar.

The crucial problem of agricultural development has not been neglected. Radical land reform legislation has distributed to the tillers all land above individual holdings of 23 acres. Simultaneously measures have been taken to increase agricultural output by introducing chemical fertilizers and distributing improved varieties of seed. Rural credit facilities have also been expanded so as to enable the agriculturist to undertake improved agricultural practices. The Community Development and National Extension Service Programme continues to make headway, slowly transforming the countryside. The State is being gradually freed from the menance of floods through the execution of well co-ordinated schemes by a high-powered Flood Control Board. Laddakh, an important part of the State, is emerging from its backwardness. A silent revolution is in progress there, and special attention is being paid to its peculiar needs and requirements.

As an integral part of India, the State of Jammu and Kashmir today is developing fast and has a bright future. It is a shining example of secularism, of religious and social tolerance essential for a society composed of many faiths. In a way it reflects in miniature the great diversity within the whole of India, for within its boundaries Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists and Christians, Sikhs and Jains, live in mutual harmony and concord, dedicated to national development and rapid economic regeneration.



DEMOCRACY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

I am speaking to you tonight not in an official capacity but as a student of political science, and I have chosen a topic which is of vital importance to every intelligent citizen of the nation—democracy and the individual.

There are many definitions of democracy, but all of them reflect certain basic and essential concepts—that it is a form of government which allows the maximum freedom within law to its citizens; that it is responsive to public opinion and allows it to choose the people who run the government; and that it is irrevocably committed to the dignity of the individual. These concepts are the bedrock of the Constitution that free India gave herself after careful deliberation, and it is therefore important that all of us should understand the basis of our political system, realize the benefits that accrue to us as citizens of a democratic State and also be fully aware of the responsibilities that necessarily flow therefrom. It is axiomatic that rights and responsibilities go together in a democracy; a system where there are rights without responsibilities would soon degenerate into anarchy, while one which imposes responsibilities without giving any rights would be oppressive and intolerable.

Let us study this a little more closely. In a democracy there is freedom of speech, but that cannot mean the freedom to slander fellow citizens or preach violence. There is freedom of assembly, but those who assemble must ensure that their gathering does not disrupt the life of the community or tresspass upon the rights of others. There is freedom of expression, but the press and platform

must function with a sense of responsibility and fairness. Thus every right in a democracy carries with it a built-in responsibility, and we cannot in all fairness expect to enjoy the one without accepting the necessity of the other. This does not mean that freedom in a democracy is a warped, constricted thing. Indeed without limitations imposed upon anarchic freedom it would not be possible for the individual to enjoy his democratic right at all. It is only when freedoms are lost that one realizes their real value, and the fact that as citizens of a democratic State we can move about freely, express divergent opinions and expect to enjoy complete equality before the law is something the value of which we should appreciate.

I may turn now to secularism, which is fundamental to Indian democracy. India has for centuries been the home of varied religious practices and beliefs. Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists and Jains, Christians and Sikhs, Parsis and free thinkers, all have lived together and have made valuable contributions to our national culture and heritage. Jammu and Kashmir State itself is in miniature an illustration of this unity in diversity, where all communities live together in happy harmony. In this context the question of religious freedom becomes very significant. Complete freedom of religious worship and activity is one of the main foundations of our multi-religious society, and to this the Constitution has combined the directive that the State as such will not be linked to any particular religion. This is the true significance of secularism; not that the State is irreligious but that it is impartial as between the various religions that its citizens profess.

However, here again the advantage of living in a secular democratic State carries with it the responsibility not to exploit religion for political purposes. Those who seek to do so serve neither religion nor politics. The essence of religion, to my mind, is the mystic and ineffable communion

between the human being and the Supreme Spirit that permeates the universe, call it by whatever name you will. Around this nexus are various customs and practices hallowed by tradition which should certainly be strengthened. But once the harsh and controversial blast of politics enters the realm of religion, the real essense of the spiritual quest tends to get diluted and lost in the noisy clamour of political activity. This is a fact which deserves to be kept in mind, specially by those who have a real interest in and reverence for religion.

In a democracy political freedom by itself is not enough. It is essential that we must press forward towards economic emancipation, so that every human being living in our nation is assured of a reasonable modicum of economic comfort. This is a tremendous task, but here again the individual has a very important role to play in a democracy. By working hard and making his maximum contribution towards the national effort, and at the same time isolating anti-social elements who may try to exploit society for their personal aggrandizement, the individual citizens can strengthen the efforts of government to improve the economic condition of the community.

To sum up, therefore, we may say that while the rights and advantages enjoyed by citizens in a democratic government are superior to those in any other form of polity, the democratic system also lays more responsibilities upon the individual to ensure that those freedoms are not misused. An alert and responsible body of citizens actively co-operating in the tasks of nation-building is thus the best guarantee for the success of the democratic system of government. We require a public opinion that is quick to point out deficiencies and shortcomings in the governmental machinery, but which at the same time is equally swift in opposing any elements which may seek to misuse the democratic system or subvert our secular base. It is said that constant

vigilance is the price of freedom. It can be said with equal truth that constant awareness of our responsibilities is the price of democracy.



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Today the period of national mourning is over, and the nation once again resumes its onward journey. This is as it should be, because India has survived since the dawn of history and must continue to march onwards towards progress and prosperity. But yet there will now be a void in our hearts, because Jawaharlal Nehru is no more. No longer will we be able to turn to him for guidance and inspiration, no longer will we come into contact with his radiant and scintillating personality, no longer will we see his familiar and deeply loved figure amongst us in this beautiful vale of Kashmir from whence his ancestors migrated many centuries ago. For us in this State he always had a special affection, and whenever possible he would try and spend a few days here amid the mountains that he loved so well, and would return to Delhi rejuvenated and refreshed. The memory of this great and good man, at once a towering world leader and an intensely human individual, will remain with us among our most treasured possessions.

The last thirteen days have witnessed unprecedented scenes of national mourning and sorrow. Not one eye remained free of tears, not one heart free of anguish. The ashes of Jawaharlal Nehru have been scattered throughout the length and breadth of this country, and all the important streams that enrich our land have been further sanctified with his mortal remains. Many will be the memorials and monuments built in his memory, but the only true memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru would be the one that we build in our hearts; a re-dedication to the ideals for which he lived and worked, and a re-affirmation of our

determination to build the India of his dreams.

What were those ideals for the realization of which he so tirelessly strove for over half a century? To my mind the outstanding facets of his public philosophy were national integration, parliamentary democracy, social emancipation, economic development based on science and technology and informed by socialistic principles, secularism and international understanding.

The unity of this nation, stretching as it does from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Gujarat to Assam, was an ideal for which Panditji worked unceasingly. He always deplored fissiparous tendencies and narrow regionalisms which threatened the unity of India, and never tired of pointing out to us that love for the nation must over-ride all lesser loyalties. We must strive to maintain this unity at all costs, as in unity lies our strength and the assurance of our future greatness. There were numerous predictions that India would break into fragments after his passing. That it has not done so is a tribute to the integration that has been forged since Independence under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, as also to the political awareness of the people and their determination to remain free and united.

Parliamentary democracy is the system of government which our Constitution makers—foremost among whom was Panditji himself—chose for the country after careful consideration. It implies an irrevocable commitment to the dignity and freedom of the individual, and for the seventeen years that Panditji was Prime Minister of the country he strengthened the edifice of parliamentary government in an extraordinary manner. An immaculate parliamentarian himself, his deep respect for democratic traditions helped to stabilize democracy in India. I happened to attend Parliament for a short while a few days after his death. By then it had recovered somewhat from the stunning

blow of his passing, and work in the Lok Sabha was proceeding in an absolutely normal fashion. This itself is the greatest tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru's achievement in strengthening parliamentary democracy.

Political democracy by itself, however, was never considered by Panditji to be enough. His vision embraced a social revolution in which the crippling barriers of caste and creed would be swept away, and every individual would be assured an honoured place as a free citizen of a free nation. To this end Panditji battled untiringly against deeply engrained prejudices in our body politic. He carried forward the vision of Mahatma Gandhi for the uplift of Harijans and other backward classes and tribes, and he always laid immense stress upon the importance of doing away with unpleasant and degrading social distinctions. The welfare of the poor and the needy was particularly dear to Panditji's heart, and the India which he sought to build was one in which no child would remain hungry or uneducated, no woman insufficiently clad or housed, and no man unemployed.

In order to achieve this Panditji realised that what was required was nothing short of an economic revolution. His approach to this was firmly based upon an awareness of the prime importance of science and technology in the present-day world. His scientific view of life and history caused him to seek in national planning the answer to our numerous economic problems. As Chairman of the Planning Commission ever since Independence he helped to lay the foundations for our economic regeneration, and to inculcate in the general public an awareness of the importance of modern technology. He was deeply committed to the prime principle of socialism, that the economy should function in a manner that would bring about the greatest good of the greatest number, and that special attention should be paid to the emancipation of economically weaker sections

of society. In an extraordinary way Panditji combined within himself the rational, modern and pragmatic attitude of the scientist with the sweeping, integral vision of the philosopher.

Secularism has been built into the very foundations of our Constitution, and this was one of the principles to which Panditji was passionately dedicated. Any hint of religious persecution or preference was anathema to him, and he would never compromise upon this issue. Realizing as he did the fact that India is a multi-racial and multi-religious nation, he saw the immense importance of strengthening the secular foundations of our polity. But his dedication to secularism was by no means merely a utilitarian one. He was firmly convinced that religion was a matter for the individual, and that the State should scrupulously refrain from favouring any particular religious community.

Finally, there was his role as a great international leader. Deeply devoted as he was to India, his vision did not stop short merely at our national boundaries. It went beyond them to cover the whole resurgent peoples of Asia and Africa, and beyond them again to embrace mankind entire. Panditji understood better than almost any other person of his generation the horrible potentialities of nuclear warfare. Time and again he raised the voice of sanity and peace when the world was in danger of being engulfed by a nuclear holocaust, and thus he contribured substantially to lessening the severe rigours of the cold war with which the world was confronted after the second world war came to a close. He was a fearless champion of repressed peoples everywhere, and his advocacy of freedom from colonial rule did much to chart the course of contemporary history. His dream was of a peaceful world in which all nations would co-operate with each other in the over-riding task of bettering the condition of the human race, and it was

this sublime vision that made him so loved and respected in countries other than his own.

These, then, were some of the main ideals for which Jawaharlal Nehru lived and worked. Today he is no longer with us in body, but his spirit lives on and his precepts are there for us to follow. If we merely pay lip service to his memory we will be doing an injustice not so much to him as to ourselves. We must at this beginning of a new era in our history solemnly affirm the ideals for which Jawaharlal Nehru stood. It is a matter for satisfaction that a new Government has today taken office under the leadership of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, dedicated to the continuation of the Nehru tradition and the fulfilment of his vision.

I would in closing like to make a special appeal to those of my countrymen who, like me, belong to what I call the post-Independence generation of Indians, a generation that came to maturity after India had become independent. Upon our shoulders ultimately rests the responsibility for the welfare of this great nation of ours. We must prove that we are capable of shouldering the burdens that lie ahead, and of fulfilling the glowing ideals with which one name will for ever be associated; the name of Jawaharlal Nehru.



IN MEMORIAM

Now you are gone, to join the ranks of those
whose names will ever live in every heart
with joyous fragrance, like the budding rose
that was of you so intimate a part;
you fought and strove to give our nation light,
to bring it freedom, break its binding chain,
you warred against a vast, imperial might
you suffered grief and anguish, loss and pain;
but yet you fought, and when at last we won
and took our place in freedom's glowing light
you did yourself become the nation's sun
and for her welfare laboured day and night;
Now you are gone, and we who stay behind
will cherish our sweet memories of you
and strive with every power of heart and mind
to make your dreams of glory come out true.

